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MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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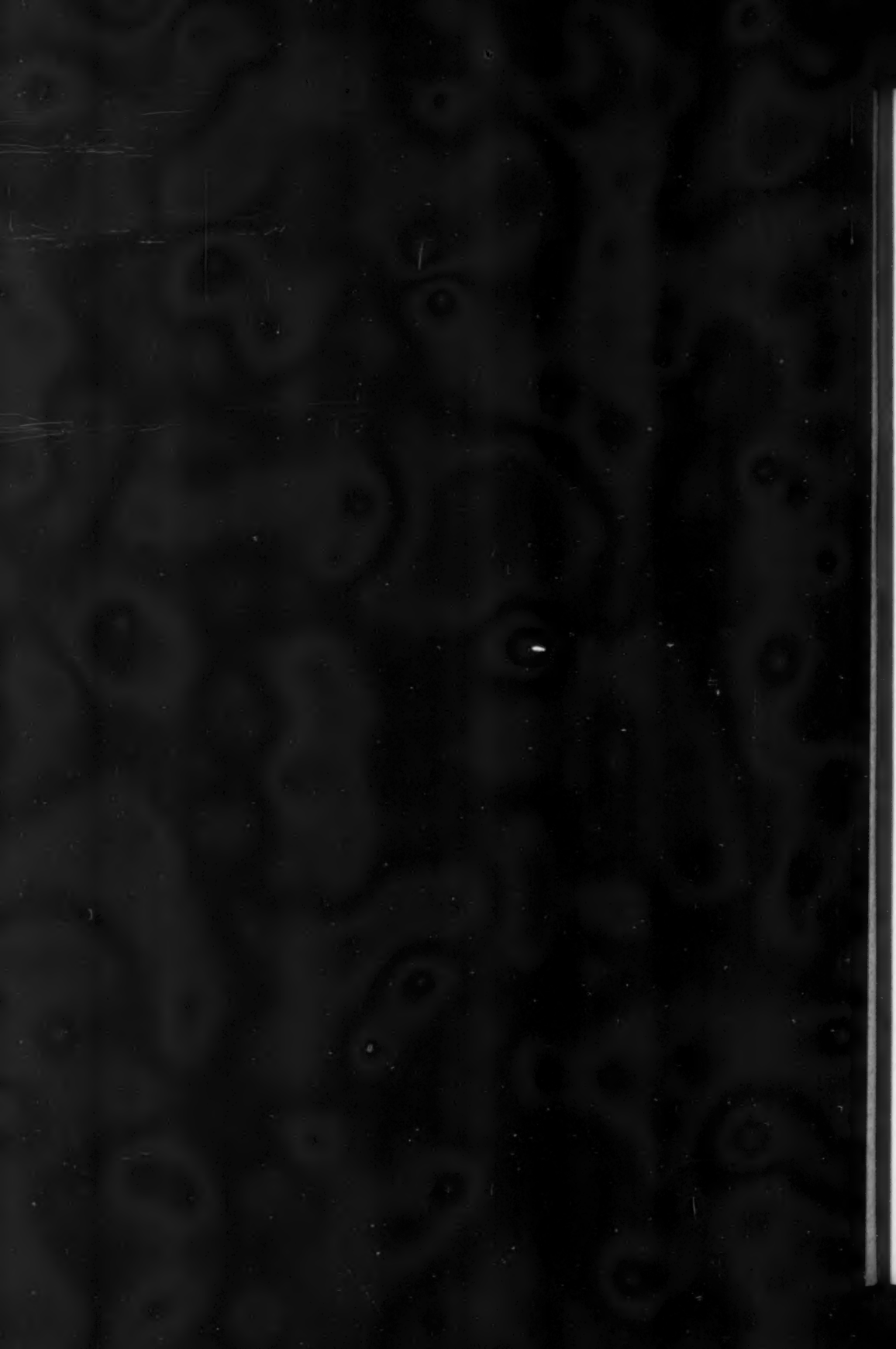
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SOME SOURCES OF THE *ROMAN DE LA MOMIE*

The *Roman de la momie*, "précédé d'une dédicace à Ernest Feydeau," appeared first in the *Moniteur universel* during March, April, and May, 1857. It was not the first time that Gautier had been attracted to the exploitation of Egyptian material. In 1831 he published in *le Gastronom*e a mediocre story entitled "Un repas au désert de l'Égypte," a would-be fantastic tale in which the element of horror arises from the odor produced by the mummies used as fuel in preparing the meal of a group of Bedouins. "Une nuit de Cléopâtre" appeared in *la Presse* during November and December, 1838, and "le Pied de la momie" was published first in the *Musée des familles*, 1840 (reprinted in *l'Artiste* as "la Princesse Hermonthis"). Furthermore, he had, in 1856, written for the *Moniteur universel* a review of Ernest Feydeau's pretentious work, *Histoire des usages funèbres et des sépultures des peuples anciens*, which had appeared in the course of the year.

In addition to the general fascination exercised upon the minds of the Romantic generation by the Orient, there were special reasons why Gautier's fancy should have been attracted to Egypt. The first half of the century had seen great enthusiasm for Egyptian exploration and for scientific studies of Egyptology, an enthusiasm manifested by the work of Denon, of Champollion le jeune, of Cailliaud, of Prisse d'Avennes in France; of Belzoni, of Rossellini, of Passalacqua in Italy; of Wilkinson, of Birch, of Hoskins in

England; of Lepsius in Germany; by the opening of the Egyptian exhibits in the Louvre, in the British museum, and at Turin—to mention only the most striking examples of this activity, the results of which were accessible to the French public in the form of books, of elaborate reproductions in black-and-white drawings, or, as in the case of the Louvre exhibit, of numerous objects found in Egyptian tombs. Indeed, the Louvre exhibit must be kept in mind as one of the most likely sources for such a visualist as Gautier.

The tales preceding the *Roman de la momie* in which Gautier utilized Egyptian material are rather conventional in their local color. They give little evidence of effort to do more than profit by the picturesque and suggestive character of an Egyptian background. But with this last story the case is different. The book was composed largely under the influence of Feydeau, to whom it was dedicated. The author writes:

Je vous dédie ce livre qui vous revient de droit. ... L'histoire est de vous, le roman est de moi; je n'ai eu qu'à réunir par mon style, comme par un ciment de mosaïque, les pierres précieuses que vous m'apportiez.

Feydeau, too, testifies to the importance of his share in the composition of the novel. He relates how he became acquainted with Gautier as a result of the latter's notice in the *Moniteur* of Feydeau's work on Egypt. He then continues:

Nous parlâmes de l'Égypte. ... Déjà germait dans l'esprit de Gautier le désir de faire un livre sur cette contrée si peu connue. ... Il me demanda de bien vouloir le diriger dans la tâche qu'il se proposait d'entreprendre. ... Et le *Roman de la momie* naquit de cette première conversation. ... Nous nous voyions presque chaque jour ... nous feuilletions ensemble les cartons de dessins que j'avais rassemblés depuis longtemps pour écrire mon ouvrage d'archéologie; je lui expliquais tout ce qui était demeuré obscur pour lui dans les arcanes de la vieille Égypte, et le roman se faisait ainsi, en causant, dans l'esprit de l'auteur. ... Quelques fragments de manuscrits hiéroglyphiques traduits par M. de Rougé, la lecture attentive de la Bible de Cahen,¹ et surtout ... la faculté d'intuition ... mirent Gautier en état de se tirer d'affaire. Il était si bien parvenu à connaître la vieille Égypte que les rôles se trouvaient parfois renversés entre nous. ...²

¹ There are few, if any, traces in the novel of particular indebtedness to this work, on which Flaubert drew largely for *Salammbô*.

² *Théophile Gautier, Souvenirs intimes* (Paris, 1874), pp. 87-94, *passim*.

It is no doubt true that Feydeau was a mediocre Egyptologist. Despite this pretentious volume his career as an archaeologist was brief, and whatever echo his name awakes today is due rather to the somewhat meretricious realism of *Fanny* and of *Daniel*. He was, however, well informed on the externals of Egyptian archaeology and had profited cleverly by the investigations of others, whose records and drawings he had liberally used. The novelist had but to read his book, to study its admirable cuts, to utilize the references in the footnotes, and to visit the Egyptian room in the Louvre, in order to find all the material he needed for the type of reconstitution of Egypt that his genius would dictate to him—that is, the Egypt that would strike the eye of a Romantic painter.

The results are evident in the *Roman de la momie*. It is the longest of Gautier's Egyptian stories and represents an ambitious attempt at a reproduction of many aspects of life in ancient Egypt: palaces, tombs, costumes of princess and king, triumphal processions, agricultural scenes, royal Thebes.

According to the story, a young English nobleman, accompanied by a German Egyptologist, offers a Greek dealer in mummies and ancient Egyptian sundries a large sum for an unopened tomb and its contents. The Greek leads them to such a tomb in the valley of the sepulchers of kings. In it they find, to their amazement, the mummy of a woman. Upon unrolling the swaddling bands the Englishman and the scientist find a body of great beauty in an amazing state of preservation. From a papyrus scroll found with the corpse they learn the story of Tahoser, daughter of the high priest, Pétamounoph, whose beauty, beheld by the Pharaoh as he returned triumphant from war, so charmed the king that he made her his queen. This was the Pharaoh of Exodus. After his death, Tahoser reigned in his stead and was buried in the tomb prepared for her vanished lord. The dramatic interest is provided by the fact that Tahoser, though of lofty birth, becomes enamored of the handsome face of a young Hebrew steward of the king's lands, who in his turn loves the beautiful Rachel. Tahoser escapes from her palace to win Poëri's love, by becoming his servant if no other way is open. She learns of Poëri's love for Rachel, but, mindful of the example of Jacob, the three have worked out a pretty plan for the foundation

of a patriarchal establishment, when, her whereabouts having been betrayed, Tahoser is borne away by the monarch, who has come in person to seek his runaway beauty.

The book has no great value as a novel. The characters are but automata drawn in hieratic poses, like Egyptian statues. The interesting element of such a book by such an author lies, as might be expected, in its pictorial aspect, in which respect, as in several others, it resembles its more illustrious successor, *Salammbô*.

The germ of the story is to be found in a passage from Champollion's letters. Gautier inverted the facts as reported there, but the similarities are so great that this was almost surely his point of departure. The rest of the story and its connection with the exodus of the Israelites is, of course, Gautier's invention. Champollion recounts thus an incident of his visit to a tomb in the valley of the tombs of kings:

Le temps ayant causé la chute du stuc appliqué par l'usurpateur Rhamesse ... je distinguai sur la porte principale les légendes d'une reine nommée Thaoser, et le temps ... a mis à découvert des tableaux représentant cette même reine, faisant les mêmes offrandes aux dieux et recevant des divinités les mêmes promesses ... que les Pharaons eux-mêmes dans les bas-reliefs de leurs tombeaux. ... Il devint donc évident que j'étais dans une catacombe creusée pour recevoir le corps d'une reine, et je dois ajouter d'une reine ayant exercée par elle-même le pouvoir souverain, puisque son mari, quoique portant le titre de roi, ne paraît qu'après elle dans cette série de bas-reliefs ... j'ai dû reconnaître ... dans la reine Thaoser la fille même du roi Hôrus, laquelle succédant à son père, dont elle était la seule héritière en âge de régner, exerça longtemps le pouvoir souverain ... sous le nom de la reine Achenchersès.¹

A comparison of this passage with Gautier's account of the opening of the coffin brings out the similarities and the differences.

On fit sauter le couvercle et Rumphius [the German Egyptologist] ... poussa un cri de surprise ... : "une femme! une femme!" s'écria-t-il, ayant reconnu le sexe de la momie à l'absence de barbe osirienne et à la forme du cartonnage. Le Grec aussi parut étonné. ... La vallée de Biban-el-Molouk est le Saint-Denis de l'ancienne Thèbes et ne contient que des tombeaux de rois. La nécropole des reines est située plus loin, dans une autre gorge de la montagne. ... Par quelle singularité, par quel miracle, par quelle substitution, ce cercueil féminin occupait-il ce sarcophage royal! "Ceci dérange, dit le docteur à lord Evandale, toutes mes notions et toutes mes théories, et

¹ Champollion le jeune, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie* (Paris, 1833), Thirteenth Letter, p. 254.

renverse les systèmes les mieux assis sur les rites funèbres égyptiens ... ! Nous touchons sans doute à quelque point obscur ... de l'histoire. Une femme est montée sur le trône des Pharaons et a gouverné l'Égypte. Elle s'appelait *Tahoser*, s'il faut en croire des cartouches gravés sur des martelages d'inscriptions plus anciennes; elle a usurpé la tombe comme le trône. ... ¹

Not only does Gautier invert the rôles of the occupants of the tomb, but to produce a sharper effect he exaggerates the unusualness of finding a woman entombed in the valley reserved for kings.

Of the passages to be studied let us consider first the account of the search and discovery of the inviolate funeral chamber as related in pages 13-26 of the novel. Much space is occupied by conversations between the various parties to the search, but the essentials are based on a passage from Champollion's letters quoted by Feydeau, and on the story of a similar adventure of the explorer Belzoni as retold by Feydeau, accompanied by cuts showing the ramifications of the passageway that led to the "golden chamber" of the sarcophagus itself. Champollion supplied many exact details of the topography and appearance of the valley entered by the explorers, and suggests the effect that such a spot would have on the imagination of the beholder. Gautier's rôle is to heighten the visual effect of the picture, to intensify the impression of barrenness, of solitude, of awfulness made upon the adventurer.

We give in parallel columns, first Champollion's text, then that of Gautier:

CHAMPOLLION

Nous avons tous pris la route de la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk, où sont les tombeaux des rois de la 18^e et de la 19^e dynastie. Cette vallée étant étroite, pierreuse, circonscrite par ses montagnes assez élevées et dénuées de toute espèce de végétation. ...

Having established his party in the tomb of Rhamsès IV, he continues

... la vallée des rois, véritable séjour de la mort, puisqu'on n'y trouve

GAUTIER

On arriva bientôt à l'étroit défilé qui donne entrée dans la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk. On eût dit une coupure pratiquée de main d'homme ... plutôt qu'une ouverture naturelle. ... Sur les parois à pic de la roche tranchée, l'œil discernait vaguement d'informes restes de sculptures rongées par le temps. ... De chaque côté s'élevaient des masses énormes de roches calcaires, rugueuses, lépreuses, effritées, fendillées, pulvérulentes, en pleine décomposition sous l'implacable soleil. ... L'on n'eût

¹ *Roman de la momie*, Charpentier (1876), pp. 44-46.

CHAMPOLLION

ni un brin d'herbe, ni êtres vivants, à l'exception des schacals et des hyènes. [Twelfth Letter, pp. 178 ff.]

Feydeau's text (pp. 178 ff.) quotes further from the Thirteenth Letter (p. 221):

C'était dans la vallée de Biban-el-Molouk à Thèbes qu'était l'emplacement de la nécropole royale ... une vallée aride, encaissée par de très hauts rochers à pic, ou par des montagnes en pleine décomposition ... et dont les croupes sont parsemées de bandes noires, comme si elles eussent été brûlées en partie; aucun animal vivant ne fréquente cette vallée de mort. ... En entrant dans la partie la plus reculée de cette vallée, par une ouverture évidemment faite de main d'homme, ... on voit bientôt au pied des montagnes ... des portes carrées, encombrées pour la plupart ... ces portes donnent entrée dans les tombeaux des rois. ... Les vallées sont presque toutes encombrées de collines formées par les petits éclats de pierre provenant des effroyants travaux exécutés dans le sein de la montagne.

GAUTIER

pas trouvé dans toute la vallée une pincée de terre végétale; aussi pas un brin d'herbe, pas une ronce, pas une liane, pas même une plaque de mousse ne venait interrompre le ton uniformément blanchâtre de ce paysage torréfié ... de larges zébrures noires, pareilles à des cicatrices de cautérisation, rayaient le flanc crayeux des escarpements. ... Un silence absolu régnait sur cette dévastation; aucun frémissement de vie ne le troublait ni palpitation d'aile, ni bourdonnement d'insecte; ... la cigale même, cette amie des solitudes embrasées, n'y faisait pas résonner sa grêle cymbale ... et de loin en loin s'arrondissaient des monticules provenant des éclats de pierre arrachés aux profondeurs de la chaîne excavée par le pic opiniâtre des générations disparues ... [Roman de la momie, pp. 14-17, *passim*.]

Throughout this passage Gautier introduces epithets of color, of light: "blanc grisâtre sur un fond de ciel indigo presque noir"; "cette teinte crue et bleue des pays torrides, qui paraît invraisemblable dans les pays du Nord"; "Sur la paroi éclairée ruisselait en cascade de feu une lumière aveuglante comme celle qui émane des métaux en fusion"—obtaining thus a vividness of visual impression all his own.

The novelist then imagines the discovery of the entrance of a tomb:

C'était une sorte de portique creusé carrément dans le roc vif: sur les parois latérales, deux piliers couplés présentaient leurs chapiteaux formés

de têtes de vache, dont les cornes contournaient en croissant isiaque. Au-dessus de la porte basse, aux jambages flanqués de longs panneaux d'hiéroglyphes, se développait un large cadre emblématique; au centre d'un disque de couleur jaune, se voyait à côté d'un scarabée, signe des renaissances successives, le dieu à tête de bélier, symbole du soleil couchant. En dehors du disque, Isis et Nephthys, personnifications du commencement et de la fin, se tenaient agenouillées, une jambe repliée sous la cuisse, l'autre relevée à la hauteur du coude selon la posture égyptienne, les bras étendus en avant avec une expression d'étonnement mystérieux, le corps serré d'un pagne étroit que sanglait une ceinture dont les bouts retombaient.

This picture is evidently based on a cut given by Feydeau of the tomb of Rhamsès, son of Meïamoun (opposite p. 179) supplemented by a quotation from the Thirteenth Letter of Champollion:

Le bandeau de la porte d'entrée est orné d'un bas-relief qui n'est au fond que la préface à toute la décoration des tombes Pharaoniques. C'est un disque jaune, au milieu duquel est le soleil à tête de bélier, c'est à dire le soleil couchant, entrant dans l'hémisphère inférieur; à la droite du disque est la déesse Nephthis, et à la gauche la déesse Isis ... ; à côté du soleil et dans le disque, on a sculpté un grand scarabée, symbole de la régénération ou des renaissances successives ... [Feydeau, p. 189].

All the details of Gautier's description are to be found in the cut—cow-headed figures, posture of the kneeling divinities, and their costumes—and Champollion gives the facts necessary for the interpretation, except the symbolic value of the images of the goddesses, which is given by Feydeau (p. 108), who refers to them as "emblèmes du commencement et de la fin." Gautier departs from his sources only in using the term *pagne* of a tight-fitting full-length garment, whereas it indicates rather a vestment covering the body only from the waist to knee, and in not mentioning the jars held in the hands of the figures as they appear in the cut.

In its difficult journey along the passageway hewn through the rock, Gautier's party follows in every detail a route similar to that of Belzoni, to whose disappointment upon the occasion of his discovery of the tomb of Menephtha-Seti he refers in the story (p. 21). Feydeau reproduces Belzoni's story (pp. 180-81), and, what is more, he gives four excellent cuts that show in detail the interior of the passageway with all its windings and the elaborate ornamentation of its walls. Gautier's explorers were confronted by the same difficulties—steps hewn in the rock, yawning pit mouth, chamber

with no exit—that Belzoni had to overcome. (*Roman de la momie*, pp. 22-35.) The novelist needed to invent nothing. He had but to follow the plan traced for him, to re-work Belzoni's narrative so as to give it life, to supply the color lacking in the drawings, and to add the dramatic touch of the footprint preserved in the dust, "aussi éternelle en Egypte que le granit." His description of the sarcophagus itself and of the mummy is, however, made up of other elements, as we shall see.

One passage in the early part of this episode (p. 21) may well be based on Feydeau.

En déchaussant la dalle pour passer dessous leurs leviers ... ils mirent à nu parmi le sable une multitude de *petites figurines* hautes de quelques pouces, en *terre émaillée bleue ou verte*, d'un travail parfait, mignonnes statuettes funéraires déposées là en offrande par les parents et les amis, comme nous déposons des couronnes de fleurs au seuil de nos chapelles funèbres; ...

In discussing the objects found in tombs Feydeau says:

Quelques unes de ces statuettes de pierre émaillée, verte ou bleue, sont de véritables chef-d'œuvres. ... D'autres statuettes semblables, également en grand nombre, sont habituellement enfouies devant la porte des tombeaux ... je crois que, véritables témoignages de souvenir et d'attachement, elles étaient apportées par les amis et les parents qui venaient visiter la tombe, après l'ensevelissement du défunt [pp. 209-10, *passim*].

Gautier made one slight departure from his source. He speaks (p. 28) of the *psychostasie*:

le juge Osiris assis sur son trône ... et les déesses de la Justice et de la Vérité amenant l'esprit du défunt devant le tribunal de l'Amenti.

Now, the cut (Pl. II) shows only one goddess and no Amenti, and it seems altogether possible that the author, wishing to make his picture of the judgment of the soul complete, utilized a passage from Feydeau (pp. 120-21) and the fine cut opposite, a facsimile of a *Rituel funéraire* showing the *psychostasie*:

Le haut de la scène est occupé par les quarante-deux juges assesseurs d'Osiris. ... Au fond de la salle, le mort est introduit par la déesse Thmeï, figurée sous la forme de la justice et de la vérité, nue, sans tête, le buste surmonté d'une plume d'autruche.

The phrase following the name of the goddess in the preceding sentence probably accounts for Gautier's two divinities.

What Lord Evandale and his party saw when they penetrated into the tomb chamber is taken directly from a cut and the accompanying text in Passalacqua, *Catalogue d'antiquités* (Paris, 1826, pp. 123 ff.), as was pointed out first by Moret (*Revue d'histoire littéraire* [1899], pp. 362-66) and later by H. C. Lunn (*French Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 4 [October, 1919], pp. 176-77). To be sure, Passalacqua's cut is beautifully reproduced by Feydeau, but details of color and of form selected by Gautier must have come from the Italian explorer's text as is established by Lunn.¹ However, he added from Feydeau (p. 204) two details that appear neither in the cut nor in Passalacqua's text. The first is as follows:

Aux angles du sarcophage étaient posés quatre vases d'albâtre oriental du galbe le plus élégant et le plus pur, dont les couvercles sculptés représentaient la tête d'homme d'Amset, la tête de cynocéphale d'Hapi, la tête de chacal de Soumaout, la tête d'épervier de Kebsnif: c'étaient les vases contenant les viscères de la momie enfermée dans le sarcophage [p. 41].

In the second place, Gautier notes that beside the tomb *une effigie d'Osiris, la barbe nattée, semblait veiller sur le sommeil de la mort [p. 42].*

This detail does not appear in Passalacqua's account of the tomb found by him, but it does in the story of Belzoni, which Gautier followed in Feydeau's version (p. 180) up to the moment when his party entered the "salle dorée":

Une grande statue d'Osiris, en bois peint en noir, de quatre pieds de hauteur, se dressait dans la salle dorée, auprès du sarcophage.

This detail is not given, however, in the translation of Belzoni to which I have had access (3d ed., London, 1822). We are told by Feydeau that Belzoni had constructed in a house in Paris a replica of this tomb, but I do not know whether Feydeau or Gautier saw the exhibit.

¹ Lunn does not refer to Moret, so the presumption is that the two arrived independently at the same conclusions. The former's article entitled "How Théophile Gautier Made Use of His Sources in *le Roman de la momie*" is, we are told, but a summary of a longer unpublished study. My own studies for this article had been nearly completed when Lunn's investigations came to my attention. I naturally omit material that would but duplicate what is already in print. It is of interest, however, to note with Lunn that Gautier followed the cuts reproducing Belzoni's expedition to the tomb chamber of Menephtha-Seti rather than the explorer's text or Feydeau's version of it. Belzoni calls one of the mural figures a *renard*, whereas it is obviously a *chacal* as Gautier calls it. In another case Gautier refers to the *mitre* on the head of one of the personages, whereas it is not mentioned in the texts.

Feydeau's record of the custom of placing the entrails in jars is as follows (p. 80; cf. pp. 80, 87, and cut):

... on les embaumait [the entrails] avec des épices, puis on les déposait en quatre vases différents, faits de toute matière, depuis l'argile cuite jusqu'à l'albâtre oriental et au porphyre. Ces vases sont de forme ovoïde tronquée et leurs couvercles sont surmontés de têtes de dieux différents: le vase contenant l'estomac et les gros intestins est couvert de la tête humaine d'Amsé; celui renfermant les petits intestins, couvert de la tête cynocéphalique d'Hapi; les poumons et le cœur sont déposés dans le vase couvert de la tête de chacal de Saumaouff;¹ enfin le foie et la vessie sont renfermés dans le vase couvert de la tête d'épervier de Kebshnif.

Passalacqua catalogues in his exhibit four groups of similar vases (pp. 74, 168) of "*albâtre oriental rubané*," but he calls the last-named divinities Sâtmauf and Nasnès. Feydeau remarks in another place of these vases:

Habituellement chacun d'eux était déposé dans une boîte en bois placée dans le tombeau, aux quatre angles du cercueil ... [p. 103].

One more element of the decoration of the chamber seems to owe its specific form to a cut in Feydeau and to the accompanying text. His exposition of a drawing of the last judgment reads in part:

Le haut de la scène est occupé par les quarante-deux juges assesseurs d'Osiris, accroupis sur deux lignes, tous armés d'une épée et coiffés d'une plume emblème de justice. ... Les têtes ou les masques de ces quarante-deux juges sont très variés: celles qui portent la forme humaine ont des coiffures différentes, les autres affectent la forme de divers animaux, tels que crocodile, serpent, ibis, épervier, chacal, bélier, hippopotame, lion, chien et cynocéphale [p. 121].

Gautier writes (p. 40):

Des Justices acéphales amenaient des âmes devant des Osiris ... , qu'assistaient les quarante-deux juges de l'Amenti accroupis sur deux files et portant sur leurs têtes empruntées à tous les règnes de la zoologie, une plume d'autruche en équilibre.

Having conferred royal dignity on the occupant of this marvelous burial chamber, Gautier does not forget what is due her state, and instead of adopting the wooden coffins found by Passalacqua in what was probably the tomb of a high priest, he writes:

Au milieu de la salle, se dressait massif et grandiose le sarcophage creusé dans un énorme bloc de basalte noir que fermait un couvercle de même

¹ Note the variation in spelling: Champollion (*Égypte ancienne* [Paris, 1839], p. 261) has the same spelling as Gautier.

matière, taillé en dos d'âne. Les quatre faces du monolithe funèbre étaient couvertes de personnages et d'hiéroglyphes aussi précieusement gravés que l'intaille d'une bague en pierre fine [p. 41],

basing, no doubt, his choice on a passage from Feydeau:

Mais les grands personnages de l'ordre militaire ou sacerdotal, les Pharaons et les princes étaient habituellement déposés dans de riches sarcophages en basalte ou en granit, creusés dans un seul bloc énorme et décorés sur leurs faces intérieures et extérieures de scènes religieuses et de sujets mystiques empruntés au rituel funéraire [p. 204].

Furthermore, Gautier could see in the Louvre the sarcophagus of Rhamsès that forms the basis of Feydeau's statement, which ends on the next page with the assertion:

Tous les sarcophages des rois inhumés à Biban-el-Molouk sont, à peu de chose près, semblables à celui de Rhamsès.

When the inner casket is opened, disclosing the mummy inclosed in a gorgeous *cartonnage*, what we see (pp. 47-49) resembles very closely the brilliantly colored cut given by Feydeau (p. 82), except for the female head-dress and the green faces of the funeral gods and the sacred serpents. Gautier's word painting is quite as brilliant as the cut copied from a mummy in the collection of Triandafilo at Thebes and commented on at length in Feydeau's text, which gives other general details that Gautier found to his liking:

... les cheveux des femmes étaient représentés avec les ornements et les nattes qu'elles portaient de leur vivant ... parfois aussi une large fleur de lotus s'épanouit sur son front. ... L'énorme coiffure de la momie, composée de tresses fort serrées, séparées par de larges bandeaux, et surmontée de la fleur de lotus, dominait le tout comme sujet principal de la peinture.

It is enough to quote two sentences from Gautier's reproduction of Tahoser's head-dress to indicate how he took his clue from his source and heightened the effect:

Une multitude de fines nattes, tressées en cordelettes et séparées par des bandeaux, retombaient, de chaque côté du masque, en masses opulentes. Une tige de lotus, partant de la nuque, s'arrondissait au-dessus de la tête et venait ouvrir son calice d'azur sur l'or mat du front, et complétait, avec le cône funéraire, cette coiffure aussi riche qu'élégante.

Upon removing this envelope the explorers find new cause for wonder. First appears the mummy swathed in fine wrappings and richly ornamented, then the toilet articles for the other world.

For this passage Gautier is indebted to Passalacqua and, secondarily, to Feydeau, as will appear from the following citations, though he may have seen similar Egyptian female ornaments in the Louvre collection. Most of Passalacqua's treasurers seem to have found their way to Berlin, but Feydeau refers to the presence of such subjects at the Louvre.

GAUTIER

Un lacs d'étroites bandelettes en fine toile de lin ... enveloppait la tête; les baumes avaient coloré ces tissus d'une belle teinte fauve. A partir de la poitrine, un filet de minces tuyaux de verre bleu ... croisait ses mailles réunies à leur point d'intersection par de petits grains dorés, et, s'allongeant jusqu'aux jambes, formait à la morte un suaire de perles digne d'une reine; les statuettes des quatre dieux de l'Amenti, en or repoussé, brillaient rangées ... au bord supérieur du filet. ... Entre les figures des dieux funèbres s'allongeait une plaque d'or au-dessus de laquelle un scarabée de lapis-lazuli étendait ses longues ailes dorées [pp. 51-52].

PASSALACQUA

Les momies de quelque distinction ... sont assez souvent ornées par un réseau de perles en verre émaillé ... qui couvre la partie supérieure de la momie dans l'intérieur du cercueil. ... Les quatre génies de l'Amenti avec un grand scarabée sans hiéroglyphes, en bois peint ou doré, ou en terre émaillée, se trouvent alors fortifiés vers la partie supérieure du filet. Quelquefois ... des petits scarabées ou des petites divinités se trouvent enfilés sur le dernier fil de l'extrémité près du cou des momies ... [p. 176].

FEYDEAU

Parfois un véritable suaire tressé, en filet de perles de couleur, les couvrait de la tête aux pieds; parfois aussi ... il ne dépassait pas la ceinture. Un de ces suaires, conservé dans la collection de Triandafilos, n'est autre qu'un véritable filet à larges mailles composées de très longues perles. Une longue plaque d'or verticale brille au milieu, au-dessous des quatre génies de l'Amenti en or repoussé. Un beau scarabée en lapis-lazuli étend ses longues ailes d'or au-dessus des génies [p. 83].

It is clear that Gautier either had seen the same object as Feydeau or that he practically reproduced his friend's text, for up to this point the movement of the two accounts is much alike. The rest

of the passage, however, seems to be an echo of Passalacqua, who gives an inventory of the objects found with a particularly interesting female mummy.

GAUTIER

Sous la tête de la momie était placé un riche miroir de métal poli. ... A côté du miroir un coffret en terre émaillée ... renfermait un collier composé d'anneaux d'ivoire, alternant avec des perles d'or, de lapis-lazuli et de cornaline. Au long du corps, on avait mis l'étroite cuvette carrée en bois de santal ou de son vivant la morte accomplissait ses ablutions parfumées. Trois vases en albâtre rubanné, fixés au fond du cercueil, ainsi que la momie, par une couche de natrum, contenaient les deux premiers des baumes d'une odeur encore appréciable, et le troisième de la poudre d'antimoine et une petite spatule pour colorer le bord des paupières et en prolonger l'angle externe [pp. 51-52].

PASSALACQUA

Cette surprenante momie ... avait été ... enveloppée toute nue dans des bandelettes ordinaires de toile, mais imbibées d'un baume qui leur donnait une couleur foncée, brun-rougeâtre. ... Sous la tête de la momie était placé le miroir métallique 659,¹ qui est ... le plus beau qui soit sorti de toutes les fouilles faites en Egypte. Près de lui se trouvait le petit coffret en terre émaillée 842. ... Il renfermait le collier 591 qui mérite d'être placé au nombre des plus curieux, par les anneaux en ivoire ... dont il est presque entièrement composé, ayant, au surplus, quelques perles en or, lapis-lazuli et en cornaline. ... Le long de la momie, étaient placés le 853, espèce de cuvette carrée, en bois, qui probablement aura servi à notre beauté ancienne pour se laver le visage par quelque eau préparée; et les 677, 678, et 685, trois petits vases d'albâtre, de formes différentes. Le 677 ... contient une quantité assez remarquable de baume ou parfum, jadis liquide. Le 678 ... avait ... un bouchon en toile, qui cachait de l'antimoine pour teindre les yeux ... et dont l'usage est prouvé ... par un instrument de bois, arrondi à l'un de ses extrémités, que j'ai trouvé dans le vase même. Le 685 paraît aussi avoir contenu quelque parfum, mais il n'en reste que de faibles traces. Tous ces objets, de même que la momie, étaient strictement collés au fond du cercueil par un baume qu'on y avait versé [pp. 159-60].

¹ The figures indicate the number of the object in Passalacqua's collection.

The professor then proceeds to uncover the mummy, and the passage that follows is evidently based on Feydeau and on Passalacqua.

FEYDEAU

Toutes les momies sont plus ou moins soigneusement enveloppées de bandelettes. ... Les bandelettes recouvrent le visage comme le reste du corps ... on enveloppait *séparément avec des bandelettes de toile, parfois de mousseline, chacune de ses parties. Les doigts, la main, le bras et tous les autres membres.* ... *La toile la plus fine était celle qui touchait immédiatement la peau.* ... Tout en enveloppant ainsi le corps, on lui donnait *une certaine attitude réglée, soit par l'usage, soit par la loi* ... les femmes ont *habituellement* les mains réunies sur la poitrine; on en a rencontré cependant quelques-unes *voilant d'une main leurs organes sexuels, de l'autre leur sein, dans la chaste et gracieuse attitude de la Vénus de Médicis* [pp. 81-82].

Feydeau refers here to a passage from Passalacqua (pp. 282 ff.), but both he and Gautier certainly knew another passage from the same author (p. 160):

La jeune beauté ... se trouvait aussi embaumée dans *une attitude très gracieuse et non-ordinaire.* Sa main droite ... ayant de même les doigts gracieusement pliés, semblait indiquer avec l'index le *bas de son ventre*, vers lequel le bras droit était mollement étendu. Le gauche se trouvait plié en avant, sa *main étendue sur le sein opposé, de manière qu'elle avait à peu près la pose de la Vénus de Médicis.*

GAUTIER

Rumphius souleva hors du cartonnage la momie ... ; il commença à la démailloter ... ; il défit d'abord l'enveloppe de toile cousue, imprégnée de vin de palmier, et les larges bandes qui ... cerclaient le corps; puis il atteignit l'extrémité d'une bandelette mince en roulant ses spirales infinies autour les membres de la jeune Egyptienne. ... Cette bandelette déroulée, une autre se présenta, plus étroite et destinée à serrer les formes de plus près. Elle était *d'une toile si fine, d'une trame si égale, qu'elle eût pu soutenir la comparaison avec la batiste et la mousseline de nos jours.* Elle *suivait exactement les contours, emprisonnant les doigts des mains et des pieds, moulant comme un masque les traits de la figure.* ... Le dernier obstacle enlevé, la jeune femme se dessina dans la chaste nudité de ses belles formes. ... *Sa pose peu fréquente chez les momies, était celle de la Vénus de Médicis.* ... *L'une de ses mains voilait à demi sa gorge virginale, l'autre cachait des beautés mystérieuses* ... [pp. 55-56].

It is easy to see why Gautier followed Feydeau's categorical comparison rather than Passalacqua's more cautious suggestions.

When the beauties of the now uncovered figure become visible, both Lord Evandale and his learned companion utter a cry of admiration (p. 57). Gautier dwells lovingly on each charming feature (pp. 57-60) and, as is to be expected, numerous elements of his description have a factual basis. I take only these into account.

Ordinairement, les momies pénétrées de bitume et de natrum ressemblent à de noirs simulacres taillés dans de l'ébène ... ils se sont pétrifiés sous une forme hideuse qu'on ne saurait regarder sans dégoût. ... Ici le corps, préparé soigneusement par des procédés plus sûrs, plus longs et plus couteux, avait conservé l'élasticité de la chair, le grain de l'épiderme et presque la coloration naturelle; la peau d'un brun clair, avait la nuance blonde d'un bronze florentin neuf; et ce ton ambré et chaud qu'on admire dans les peintures de Giorgione ou du Titien ... ne devait pas différer beaucoup du teint de la jeune Egyptienne en son vivant [p. 58].

When Passalacqua caught sight of the figure of the unusually beautiful mummy (p. 160) his feelings were much like those of Lord Evandale and of Rumphius:

A la vue d'une jeune femme de si belles proportions ... j'étais resté immobile devant elle, fixant avec un mélange de surprise et de tristesse ses belles formes et ses parures;¹

and M. de Vernueil, upon examining the hand and arm of this mummy, which Passalacqua brought back to Europe, was equally amazed at the beauty of the skin:

On est frappé d'étonnement lorsqu'on arrive à cette pièce. Ce ne sont plus ces masses noires, cassantes, ridées et informes, que présentent la plupart des autres espèces, même dans leur meilleur état. Ici les formes ont toute leur intégrité; la peau, lisse et tendue, a presque sa couleur naturelle; seulement elle affecte une teinte safranée, et qui, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, peut dépendre du tanin dont elle est imprégnée [Passalacqua, p. 285].

Gautier continues to paint lovingly the beauty of the creature thus restored to the light, basing his account evidently on Passalacqua's story of the mummy referred to above.

¹ To be compared with the emotions of Lord Evandale and his companion is Passalacqua's account of his feelings upon finding an unopened tomb: "Dans le transport de la joie la plus pure dont j'étais saisi, j'allais m'emparer du premier objet que j'avais devant les yeux; mais à l'instant même un sentiment d'un respect religieux s'empara de moi et me retint. ... Comment décrire l'agitation douce ... que mon âme éprouva dans ce moment délicieux, où le flambeau dissipait devant moi une nuit dont la durée contenait les fastes et toutes les chutes qui enrichissent l'histoire depuis Busiris jusqu'à nos jours! [p. 117].

GAUTIER

Autour du front uni et bas ... se massaient des cheveux d'un noir de jais, *divisés et nattés* en une multitude de fines cordelettes. ... *Vingt épingles d'or, piquées parmi ces tresses comme des fleurs dans une coiffure de bal*, étoilaient des points brillants dans cette épaisse et sombre chevelure. Deux grands boucles d'oreilles, arrondies en disque comme de petits boucliers, faisaient frissonner leur lumière jaune à côté de ses joues brunes. *Un collier magnifique, composé de trois rangs de divinités et d'amulettes en or et en pierres fines*, entouraient le col ... et plus bas ... descendaient deux autres colliers, dont les perles et les rosettes en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, formaient des alternances symétriques. ... *Une ceinture à peu près du même dessin enserait sa taille svelte d'un cercle d'or et de pierres de couleur. Un bracelet à double rang en perles d'or et de cornaline entourait son poignet gauche, et à l'index de la main du même côté, scintillait un tout petit scarabée en émaux cloisonnés d'or, et maintenu par un fil d'or précieusement natté* [pp. 59-60].

PASSALACQUA

Sa chevelure, la rotondité et la surprenante régularité de ses formes me prouvèrent qu'elle était une beauté de son temps. ... Ses cheveux étaient soigneusement arrangés. ... *Les vingt épingles 571 y étaient entremêlées, comme les fleurs le sont aujourd'hui dans les cheveux de nos beautés. Le collier 594, peut-être le plus beau qu'on ait jamais découvert, ornait son col; mais comme si les trois rangs de petites divinités et amulettes en or qui le composent, ne suffisaient pas pour la beauté du sein, deux autres colliers, 587 et 589, l'accompagnaient, moins riches, mais dont les perles et les rosettes en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, se trouvent distribués avec beaucoup de goût et de symétrie. ... Les deux grandes boucles d'oreilles en or 601 pendaient à ses oreilles; et le très-petit scarabée, cerclé en or 257, fortifié avec un cordon gentiment natté, ornait, en forme de bague, l'index de sa main gauche. Une ceinture élégante, en or, lapis-lazuli et cornaline, et à peu près du même dessin que le collier 599, serrait le milieu de son corps, et un bracelet à double fil de petites perles en pierre fine et en or, comme le collier 595, ornait son poignet gauche; mais ces deux objets me furent volés à Thèbes même ...* [p. 159].

Now the several articles that Passalacqua refers to specifically by number in this quoted passage are described by him as follows: 571, *Cuivre doré.—Vingt grandes épingles de tête*; 594, *Autre collier à trois rangs, dont les fils sont composés de petites perles en or, lapis, cornaline et ivoire; de divinités et d'animaux sacrés, tels que Typhon, crocodiles, hippopotames, et qui sont enrichis de figures, oies, scorpions, etc. en or, turquoises, lapis-lazuli, pierre arménienne et cornaline ...*; 587, *Autre collier à un rang, composé de*

rosaces alternées deux par deux, et qui sont formées en or, cornaline, ou en lapis-lazuli; 589, Autre collier à un rang, dont les perles taillées en olives, sont en cornaline et en or; 601, Une paire de très-grandes boucles d'oreilles en or, et dont la forme ressemble à celle de petits bracelets striés: ces bijoux ont six lignes de hauteur; 599, Un grand collier à deux rangs de perles alternées en or, en lapis et en cornaline ...; 595, Autre collier, formé de petites perles alternées par douzaine, en or, lapis-lazuli, spath vert et cornaline. ...

Tahoser's earrings were unlike those of Passalacqua's beauty, but as he mentions (p. 35) two pairs with round pendants, it is impossible to conclude whether Gautier deliberately preferred one of these pairs for his queen, or whether—as seems likely—the Louvre collection provided a pattern. However this may be, Gautier's debt to Passalacqua is evident; even the terms used are often the same; but how admirably he composes the picture! What life, what poetry he gives to the Egyptologist's catalogue of facts! The sentence describing the earrings is eloquent of this magic: "Deux grandes boucles d'oreilles, arrondies en disque comme de petits boucliers, faisaient frissonner leur lumière jaune à côté de ses joues brunes."

An examination of Gautier's triumphal procession (pp. 104-18) leads to the belief that it is a composite of several sources, one of which is, almost certainly, Feydeau's attempt (pp. 150-54) to convey a picture of what a traveler in ancient Thebes would have seen in an excursion to the left bank of the Nile to visit the field of maneuvers, to see the arrival of a procession bearing the spoil of three nations, and to visit the Memnonia section, tenanted by the countless beings occupied with the service of the dead. Feydeau bases his account of the captives and the booty they bear on a reproduction by Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1835, pp. 327-35), of a procession copied from the tomb of Thothmes III, Thebes, and is, in several respects, more vivid and ornamental than accurate. In his wish to make the scene effectively picturesque Gautier went still farther: the captive women, some of them mere slaves, others who might aspire to win the heart of the conqueror; the masses of treasure; and the strange animals brought from afar to grace the triumph of Pharaoh. If Gautier had before him Hoskins' drawings, he made little use of them, and his text echoes in its phraseology that of Feydeau. In the original there are seven white women, four of

whom carry or lead children. They are clad in white dresses from neck to foot, plain except for a threefold skirt and colored girdles. There are no signs of earrings, of ivory armlets, nor of anklets, nor are their plain gowns embroidered at the throat. The suggestion that they are intended for the royal pleasure and are jealously guarded from the crowd is due to Feydeau. In the drawing they are preceded at some distance by two soldiers and followed by only one, and Hoskins speculates as to their fate no farther than to suggest that they are the wives of the male captives whom they follow. As the following quotations will show, the novelist seemed content to re-work Feydeau's text.

GAUTIER

Tahoser leaves her palace to view the king's return from war:

Enfin le char arriva au champ de manœuvre ... des terrassements qui avaient dû employer pendant des années les bras de trente nations ... formaient un cadre en relief au gigantesque parallélogramme; des murs de briques crues formant talus revêtaient ces terrassements [p. 101]. Sur le côté du champs de manœuvre, le revêtement s'interrompt et laissait déboucher dans la place une route se prolongeant vers l'Ethiopie supérieure. ... A l'angle opposé, le talus coupé permettait au chemin de se continuer jusqu'au palais de Rhamsès-Méiamoun en passant à travers les épaisses murailles de briques [p. 102].

Then the procession passes:

Des femmes basanées ..., portant leurs enfants dans un lambeau d'étoffe noué à leur front, venaient derrière, honteuses, courbées, laissant voir leur nudité grêle et difforme, vil troupeau dévoué aux usages les plus infimes. D'autres jeunes et belles,

FEYDEAU

En avant, plus au sud, ... s'ouvre une spacieuse arène, entourée de remparts de briques, coupée de nombreuses portes dont la principale débouche sur le fleuve; une autre fait face au désert d'Ethiopie, une autre encore s'ouvre juste à l'angle du palais de Rhamsès. Dans cette arène ... nous apercevons au loin ... une populeuse caravane ... nous ne distinguons rien qu'une longue suite d'hommes portant des fardeaux ... les envoyés de trois nations vaincues apportant au roi ... le riche tribut qu'il a conquis. ... Tous conduisent des animaux ... deux d'entre eux tiennent en main un bout de corde qui va s'attacher aux pieds de devant ... d'une girafe à robe tachetée, quatre fois plus haut qu'un homme. ... D'autres animaux ... ici une autruche menée en bride ... des oncelots et des léopards ... dociles comme des chiens, marchant la tête basse, comme s'ils étaient honteux de se

GAUTIER

la peau d'une nuance moins foncée, les bras ornés de longs cercles d'ivoire, les oreilles allongées par de grands disques de métal, s'enveloppaient de longues tuniques à manches larges ... et tombant à plis fins et pressés *jusque sur leurs chevilles*, où bruissaient des anneaux; pauvres filles arrachées à leur patrie, à leurs parents, à leurs amours peut-être, elles souriaient cependant à travers leurs larmes, car le pouvoir de la beauté est sans bornes ... et peut-être la faveur royale attendait-elle une de ces captives barbares. ... Des soldats les accompagnaient et les préservaient du contact de la foule [pp. 107-8]. Un héraut disait le montant du butin, les mesures de poudre d'or, les dents d'éléphant, les plumes d'autruche, les masses de gomme odorante, les girafes, les lions, les panthères et autres animaux rares ... [p. 109]. Des esclaves portaient le butin annoncé par le héraut ... et des belluaires traînaient en laisse des panthères, des guépards s'écrasant contre terre comme pour se cacher, des autruches battant des ailes, des girafes dépassant la foule de toute la longueur de leur col, et jusqu'à des ours bruns pris, disait-on, dans les montagnes de la Lune [pp. 117-18].

FEYDEAU

sentir domptés. ... Voici ... un groupe de nègres ... qui portent ... des dents d'éléphants ... des bouquets de plumes d'autruche. ... D'autres nègres ... portant ... des sacs de poudre d'or ... et tribut qui dépasse tous ceux que nous avons énumérés, ils viennent offrir au roi ... les plus monstrueuses bêtes du monde: l'ours féroce et l'énorme, l'intelligent éléphant ... *Sept Egyptiens armés ... précèdent des filles esclaves, le buste découvert ... ; quelques-unes, rebut des gynécées, vouées aux travaux les plus vils, toutes nues, sans attraits et sans grâce*, ... conduisent leurs enfants par la main, ou les portent derrière l'épaule dans un sac rattaché au front par une lanière. Ce sont les servantes, annonçant ... des femmes ... plus belles ... ces Asiatiques, au teint clair, les cheveux saupoudrés de poudre bleue, sont couvertes de longues robes blanches. ... Derrière elles s'avancent enfin ... les quatre captives destinées sans doute au gynécée du Pharaon. Leurs robes blanches, à manches. ... Trois autres femmes les suivent; derrière elles sont encore alignés des hommes armés [pp. 150-53, *passim*].

Feydeau's text contains many more curious details taken from the drawings of which Gautier makes no use, such as the antics of monkeys, one of which is perched on the long neck of the giraffe, while another seems to beg his negro neighbor for a lift. It is worthy of remark that he seems to have been content to use Feydeau as his point of departure instead of referring directly to the elaborate drawings found in Hoskins.

In his description of the crowd through which the chariot of Tahoser makes its way, Gautier relies on Feydeau again as will be evident from a comparison of the text of the two passages quoted below.

GAUTIER

La variété la plus étrange barrait cette multitude; les *Egyptiens* formaient la masse et se reconnaissaient à leur profil pur, à leur taille svelte, à leur robe de fin lin, ou à leur *calasiris* soigneusement plissé. ... Sur ce fond indigène tranchaient des échantillons divers de races exotiques: les *négres du haut Nil*, noirs comme des dieux de basalte, les bras cerclés de larges anneaux d'ivoire et faisant balancer à leurs oreilles de sauvages ornements; les *Ethiopiens* bronzés, à la mine farouche ... ; les *Asiatiques au teint clair jaune*, aux yeux d'azur, à la barbe frisée en spirales. ... A travers cette foule s'avançaient gravement des prêtres à la tête rasée, une peau de panthère tournée autour du corps ... des souliers de byblos aux pieds, à la main une haute canne d'acacia, gravée de caractères hiéroglyphiques; des soldats, leur poignard à clous d'argent au côté, leur bouclier sur le dos, leur hache de bronze au poing; des personnages recommandables ... que saluaient très-bas les esclaves. ... Parmi les piétons filaient les litières portées par des *Ethiopiens* ... ; des chars légers attelés de chevaux fringants aux têtes empanachées, des chariots à bœufs d'une allure pesante et contenant une famille [pp. 88-89].

FEYDEAU

Dans la foule bariolée ... on distingue aisément les *Egyptiens* au profil pur, aux cheveux tressés ... vêtus de blanches robes de fin lin ou de la *calasiris* plissée ... , des *Ethiopiens* à l'air dur, à peau de bronze, aux fortes lèvres, des *Asiatiques* aux yeux bleus, et au teint clair, et des *négres du Haut-Nil*, aux cheveux crépus, les bras cerclés de bracelets d'ivoire, les oreilles chargés de larges anneaux, ... le soldat ... le bouclier à l'épaule, le poignard à clous d'argent dans la ceinture, tenant d'une main son arc triangulaire, de l'autre sa hache courte. ... Ici le maître dans un palanquin à dossier, porté sur les épaules de quatre esclaves ... là encore, debout sur un léger char à deux roues qu'entraînent au galop deux chevaux rapides caparaçonnés d'étoffes brillantes et la tête empanachée de longues plumes rouges. ... D'autres chars ... plus lents et plus lourds ... sur un autre à roues massives ... charrié par des bœufs, est entassée une nombreuse famille de paysans. On reconnaît encore ça et là, ... les prêtres à leur peau de panthère qui flotte sur leur épaule, à leurs souliers de byblos, à leur tête rasée; ils parcourent la ville en s'appuyant sur de longues cannes d'acacia ornées d'hiéroglyphes ... [pp. 139-40, *passim*].

The foundation of Gautier's description is plainly in Feydeau's text. He departed from it now and then, adding, as usual, lively epithets or striking details, for many of which he could find authority

in the illustrations of Feydeau's work, but the only element of the scene for which Feydeau offered no suggestion is the characterization of the Pelasgians and their costumes (p. 88), as the introduction of the haughty beauties (p. 89) is due to an inevitable antithesis.

Lunn's article referred to above traces to their sources two interesting passages of Gautier's story: the pastoral scenes described on pages 146, 150, 181-85, and the characterization of the different races of men sculptured on the walls of Pharaoh's palace (p. 252). For the former, the source is largely the cuts in Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1854); for the second, Champollion's Letters (p. 248). As Feydeau's references to these two writers are numerous, here too Gautier may be said to have profited by his friend's guidance, especially in the first case, for Feydeau (p. 193) similarly reconstructs farming scenes in Egypt on the basis of Wilkinson's cuts, mentioning even the monkeys trained to gather figs (*Roman de la momie*, p. 150), but some of the details noted by Gautier prove that he too had the pictures before him.

Gautier found in his sources the material for a number of small realistic reproductions of costume, of toilet articles, of furniture, and the like. The general details of dress could have been drawn from almost any of the illustrated works to which he had access, but in one or two cases a definite source may be pointed out. Tahoser's head-dress is thus described (p. 74):

Cette belle fille avait pour coiffure une sorte de *casque formé par une pintade* dont les ailes à demi déployées s'abattaient sur ses tempes, et dont la jolie tête effilée s'avancait jusqu'au milieu de son front, tandis que la queue, constellée de points blancs, se déployaient sur sa nuque. Une habile combinaison d'émail imitait à s'y tromper le plumage ocellé de l'oiseau; des *pennes d'autruche*, implantées dans le *casque* comme une aigrette, complétait cette coiffure réservée aux jeunes vierges, de même que le *vautour*, symbole de la maternité, n'appartient qu'aux femmes.

This was suggested, in part at least, by a passage from Champollion (*Lettres sur le musée égyptien de Turin* [1824], p. 21):

... une image de Mui-Cetari, debout coiffée d'un vautour dont le col et la tête se dressent sur son front. ... Les ailes de l'oiseau, peintes en vert et en jaune, retombent à côté des oreilles de la reine, et la queue étalée couvre la nuque de la statue. Ce *vautour* que l'on a pris souvent, et à tort, pour une pintade ... était chez les Egyptiens, le *symbole de la maternité* et ils le placèrent sur la tête des reines.

I have not found an explicit statement as to the headdress of virgins, but from Feydeau (p. 145) he could have got the ostrich plumes:

... de jeunes femmes ... coiffées de casques légers en forme de pintade élégamment couronnés de plumes d'autruche. ...

The musicians with their instruments, and the dancers who tried to dispel by their art Pharaoh's melancholy (pp. 135-36) are reproduced faithfully from a cut in Feydeau, even to the "petite fille de sept ou huit ans" (facing p. 142). Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, I, 60, Fig. 65) reproduces a chair corresponding in every detail to the royal throne described by Gautier (p. 127)—captives, ornamented cushions, chimera heads, and all,¹ and the same work (p. 69, Fig. 79) pictures a table like those found in the royal palace, the top supported by figures representing bound and suffering prisoners (pp. 253, 257). Feydeau (p. 213) calls to Gautier's attention a spatula described as follows in the novel:

... Une spatule à parfums en bois de sycamore, formée par une jeune fille nue jusqu'aux reins, allongée dans une position de nage et semblant vouloir soutenir sa cassolette au-dessus l'eau [p. 72];

which appears thus in Feydeau:

L'une de ces cuillères sculptées, déposée au Louvre, représente une jeune fille nue, étendue, la tête relevée, les bras en avant soutenant une auge entre ses mains: ... rien de plus gracieux que ces jeunes filles ... les pieds réunis dans l'attitude d'une personne qui nage.

The original of Tahoser's spatula may have been in the Louvre too, but it is likely that Feydeau's text helped suggest Gautier's simile.

When Tahoser crossed the Nile in her bark (pp. 91-92), the scene of confusion and animation on the river finds a counterpart in Feydeau (p. 145), and though the details are not enough alike to justify a formal comparison, there is surely a connection between the two passages. Tahoser is represented as the daughter of the high priest Pétamounoph. There are numerous references in Feydeau as well as in other authorities to the splendid tomb of this dignitary, of which Feydeau gives a drawing. One would expect Gautier's sketch of the palaces of Thebes to follow Feydeau's outline, but,

¹ See also Champollion, *Égypte ancienne*, Fig. 23. In the same volume are cuts from which Gautier could have got the two vases described on p. 267 (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ed. of 1853, I, 150, 151, 152), as also the stool formed "de cols de cygnes enlacés" (p. 267).

oddly enough, there are no striking similarities between the two, though, naturally, the same more striking features of the architecture are indicated by both: such as the alley of two thousand sphinxes that connects the palaces of Aménoph and of Karnak (Feydeau, p. 144; *Roman de la momie*, p. 99).

It would not be difficult to make other equally evident comparisons of detail between passages from the *Roman de la momie* and obvious sources. Such, for example, would be the headdress and costume of Pharaoh (pp. 111-12) reproduced apparently from the cut in Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte ancienne*, I (Paris, 1835, Pl. III); the banners (p. 108), which he might have got from Wilkinson (ed. of 1853, p. 343); the description of the triumphal cortege (p. 106, *et seq.*), of which many details are to be traced to Champollion's Letters (pp. 261, 268, 334, 335, 336, *passim*); the mention of the roll of papyrus containing the "rituel funéraire" (p. 62), for which Gautier drew on Feydeau¹ (p. 125)—as is evident from the phrase, "la litanie des cent noms d'Osiris"—and from Passalacqua (p. 170), who notes that these documents are sometimes found placed between the mummy's arm and side; and numerous items of costume, of food (cf. p. 133), of ceremony, and the like. A complete record of these, however, would be merely adding in kind, for the passages examined are typical and sufficiently varied.

The materials used by Gautier were such as appeal to the senses, above all to the eye. He makes his descriptions as precise as possible. An object is presented with the details of form, of color, that distinguish it from all others. He departs most from Feydeau's text when Feydeau is less precise, less concrete than some other authority. He utilizes Passalacqua's text for the ornaments and toilet articles found with the mummy because Passalacqua recounts a particular incident in all its detail, whereas Feydeau, using almost the same material, treats the matter in more general terms. It is characteristic, too, that Gautier often bases his descriptions on cuts or on objects. Hence, with the aid of Feydeau's cuts of the tomb visited by Belzoni, he reconstructs most dramatically and in great detail a similar adventure. Furthermore, he chooses the unusual, as in the case of

¹ Feydeau's passage is based on Champollion: *Notice sur le papyrus hiératique ... du cercueil de Pétaménoph*—that is from the tomb of Tahoser's father!

Passalacqua's record of the remarkably well-preserved and beautiful mummy. To this account he is indebted for the appearance of the skin of Tahoser, for her beauty of form, for the richness of her ornaments, though he places his beauty in a splendid royal tomb, surrounded by all the pomp of Egypt's ceremonial, whereas Passalacqua had found his beautiful lady in a public sepulcher, inclosed in a simple coffin. Thus it is evident that Gautier combined and modified his material freely, always with the aim of producing a more telling and more suggestive visual effect. On the other hand, the extent of his indebtedness to Feydeau's text, even in some cases where he might have chosen a more concrete source, is worthy of remark. The skill with which he transmutes the pretentious style of his friend into his own rich prose is, of course, his artistic secret.

The more abstract matters—Egyptian religion, laws, government, commerce—he quite ignores or barely touches. He is interested in the past of Egypt only in so far as it will yield him material for strange and vivid pictures. He displays none of the historical sense manifested by his disciple Flaubert in *Salammbô*. Our interest is aroused, however, not so much by what he did not do—for even if we do not accept wholly M. L. Lanson's phrase, "le néant intellectuel de Gautier," we surely do not expect him to be concerned with ideas as much as with things—but by observing with what skill, with what artistic sureness, he selects and combines from a bewildering abundance of material, and what a striking series of pictures of certain of the more Romantic aspects of life in ancient Egypt he presents to our eyes. His figures of speech, his choice of epithets, the movement of his phrases—all contribute to the same end, are all representative of his peculiar type of imagination. Whatever may be the lack of Gautier as a creative artist, there can be no doubt of his power to convey sensuous impressions—of color, form, sound—and in *the Roman de la momie* he uses his gifts on a large scale with consummate skill.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS IN HERDER'S THOUGHT. IV

Chap. II

EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PERSONALITY—*Concluded*

RELATION OF THE THEORY OF ENVIRONMENT TO "VOLKSLITERATUR" AND THE CONCEPTION OF "VOLK"

We have seen that Herder displaced the traditional conception of an absolute, universal reason by that of individual spontaneity, as the primary factor of reality, as the source and standard of all experience, including the activities of reason. Reason is according to Herder derivative, a function of personality, and has to find its conclusive definition and criteria not in its own logic considered as absolute or "transcendental," but in the specific characters of spontaneous individuality.

Herder did not commit the mistake, which was very tempting, of transferring absoluteness from reason to individuality. He saw that individuality was in turn conditioned by relations which were subject to empirical demonstration and control. The sum of these relations is expressed by the term environment.

The theory of environment as a hypothesis of the general conditions of life was not new in the eighteenth century. It dates back to ancient history, where it coincides with the beginnings of exact natural science.¹ Hippocrates made it the subject of a treatise

¹ See the exhaustive and well-written dissertation of Eugénie Dutoit: *Die Theorie des Milieu*. Bern, 1899. After a thorough analysis of Taine's theory of the "faculté maltresse" in its bearing on the theory of environment, Miss Dutoit outlines skillfully and comprehensively the theories of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Bodin, Montesquieu, Augustine, Vico, Buckle, Herder, and others. (See for Herder, pp. 86-87.)

Miss Dutoit's reference to Herder, determined as it was by the focus of her particular inquiry, namely Taine's theory, had to be brief. A special investigation of Herder's theory of environment had long seemed to me desirable. The specific determination of this problem depended, however, on the discovery of the crux of the essential relations between the multitudinous facts of environment considered by Herder, and his fundamental ideas.

My theory of the principle of individuality in Herder's philosophy, which began to take shape about 1904, furnished this crux. In 1907, while conducting a graduate course on Herder, I suggested the subject to Mr. A. H. Koller, one of my students, as a

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entitled: *Of Winds, Waters, and Places*. Aristotle was the first to give it a place in his politico-historical theories as a fundamental determinant of political institutions. Bodin, in his *République*, published in 1576, followed Aristotle's teaching, after a long interval of time. This politico-historical conception of environment was further developed by Montesquieu, nearly two centuries later.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the theory of environment entered upon a new phase. The direction which it took, the definitions of its problems and critical methods which it developed, have continued to the present day with constant acceleration, increase of evidence, and progress of precision in classification and induction. It kept pace with the advance of modern science. Discoveries in physics, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, supplied constantly more specific substance for the emerging hypothesis of the organic unity of all existence.

Zoölogy gradually arranged all the forms of life in an unbroken ascending series. Only before man, the highest form, it assumed an absolute gap. Man was still assumed as a separate creation, the agent of absolute, universal reason, subject to no primary organic or material causation, endowed with his own *a priori* standards and responsibility and his own transcendental spontaneity and freedom.

This view, which was the logical expression of the rationalistic dualism of Reason and Matter, yielded slowly and reluctantly before the extension of knowledge. Its last empirical support, to which it clung tenaciously, was the supposed absence of the intermaxillary bone in man alone among the higher vertebrates. It was Goethe who in 1783, the year of the completion of the first part of Herder's *Ideen*, demonstrated this final anatomic link between man and the

theme for a course-paper, and subsequently, as a Doctor's thesis. I unfolded my theory of personality and its bearings on Herder's views on environment to my students. I put Miss Dutoit's dissertation into Mr. Koller's hands, thus giving him the orientation and tools required for the proper beginning of his investigation. The first part of this dissertation has recently appeared under the title: A. H. Koller, *The Theory of Environment*, Part I (University of Chicago Dissertation. Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1918). In the Preface, in which he gives an account of the development of his study, Mr. Koller fails to mention Miss Dutoit's work, and gives a misleading description of the state of the problem confronting him. The subject, at the time that Mr. Koller was introduced to it, was not, as appears from his description, a primeval wilderness without paths and "guide posts," but an inviting district with its main lines of topography clearly traced and with the points of the compass plainly indicated. Nor was he thrust forth, naked, and led forward, well equipped and cheered with every proper encouragement and direction.

lower animals. With that discovery, biology, the science of the organic development of life, was born. More than two generations passed, however, before its proper principles of method and technique were established by Darwin.

Goethe's scientific contemporaries, actuated partly by guild pride and prejudice against the non-professional interloper, and dominated by the rationalistic philosophy, refused for many years even to examine Goethe's account of his discovery.

Herder was familiar with the principles and results of the physical sciences of his day as early as 1770, the year of the preparation of his prize essay, "Über den Ursprung der Sprache." He made the biological unity of man with the animals the express basis of his argument.¹ Goethe, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,² relates that in the winter of 1770-71 Herder gave him the manuscript of the essay, which was nearly completed, to read, and freely communicated his ideas to him.

Herder's particular contribution to the theory of environment was not any discovery of new physiological facts, but the projection of a new focus, as epoch-making as the hypothesis of biology. By relating the demonstrable facts of physical environment organically to the specific functions of individual spontaneity and so disposing of the current mythologies of static, primary "powers" or "faculties" of the soul, i.e., by joining personality with the physical foundations of life, he took the ground from rationalism and created the modern view of humanism as the fruit of a natural development of personality, whose record is *Geistesgeschichte*, or *Kulturgeschichte*.

The theme of modern humanism is the development of collective forms of human individuality in organic relations to their environment. It is no longer an account of abstract ideas or of detached individuals, but of ethnic groups, of nations, considered as historical, genetic individualities. Herder not only gave the decisive impulse to this advance, but established its principal categories in literature, art, general aesthetics, general history, theology, philology, philosophy, psychology, and political science.

In his interpretation of folk literature, he ignored the specifically physiological bearings of environment, partly because he had already

¹ The essay will be discussed in the next chapter.

² Book 10.

set them forth in his prize essay, partly, no doubt, because it was necessary, in the interest of concentration, to defer comprehensive accounts of their further relations, to separate works, as *Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*, 1773; *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, 1774; *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, 1774; *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1784-91; and others.¹

The particular aim of his studies in folk literature was not a historical account of the actual details of the development, but an inductive analysis of the essential qualities of folk literature as it was. For this purpose, environment took the function not so much of specific organic cause, but rather of formal index of individualization. It was sufficient to relate the various elements of folk individuality to the corresponding main classes of environment.

Herder had formulated some classes of environment in *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Litteratur*, his first essays of note, published 1767, under the following heads:² external nature; national history; national spirit, prejudices, taste; religion; social and political conditions of life; character of language, particularly its characteristic idioms, which he calls *Idiotismen*, including local speech or dialect.

These classes recur, substantially unchanged, as the chief focuses of individualization, in his essays on folk literature, including drama and narrative forms as well as lyrical poetry. The progress of these later essays lies in the greater accuracy of illustration, finer discrimination of particulars and deeper comprehension of essentials, and especially in evidence of his gradual escape from remnants of Rousseau's and Hamann's mystical doctrine of the primitive perfection of man, which, if interpreted literally,³ is incompatible with a historical view of development based upon the theory of environment.

In *Shakespeare*, Herder again sums up the chief classes of creative environment: "History, *Zeitgeist*, manners, opinions, language,

¹ These will be discussed in the next chapter.

² *Fragmente*, Zweite Sammlung, chaps. i-vii. These early essays reveal the influence of Montesquieu and Rousseau in a paradoxical combination. See the last section of this chapter.

³ As it was not really interpreted by Rousseau, notwithstanding the apparently universal critical opinion concerning the latter's teaching. See my forthcoming paper on "The Problem of Romanticism" and the last section of this chapter.

national prejudices, traditions, and fads furnish the proper material for a living drama. The form is of secondary importance."

And again, in the same essay: "History, tradition, manners, religion, spirit of the era, of the people, of its emotions, of its language. . . ." Farther on he adds "spirit of particular locality" (*Lokalgeist*).

He says in *Ossian*:

You laugh at my enthusiasm for the savages almost as Voltaire did at Rousseau, who, he said, liked so much to walk on all fours. But do not think that I therefore scorn our virtues of manners and morals. The human race is destined for a progress of scenes, of education, of manners. Woe! to the man who is displeased with the scene in which he is to appear, act, and live. But woe! also to the philosopher who, in making theories on mankind and manners and morals, knows only his scene and judges the first scene always as the worst. If *all* belong to the whole of the progressive drama, *each* must display a *new* and *notable side* of mankind. Take care, lest I visit on you presently a psychology drawn from Ossian's poems.

And in another passage: The modern man can gain nothing by trying to imitate the native simplicity of the ancients. By the laws of individuality and spontaneity he also must be true to himself as the savages were true to themselves.

If a modern young poet finds that his dominant powers are intellectual, and that such are required by his subject and type of poetry, he will have to consider the subject and content of his poem so fully and clearly and order it so plainly, that the words are, as it were, sculptured upon his soul. But if his poem calls for a rushing forth of passion and emotion, or if this type of powers is the readiest and most potent impulse in his soul, he should yield to the fire of the auspicious hour and speak and bewitch.

It is important to note that Herder makes no essential distinction between ancient folk poetry and purely intellectual poetry, provided they have the characters of spontaneity and individuality in common. The latter are his principal criteria.

Particular stress should fall on the view, expressed in the passage just quoted, that spontaneity is not repugnant to critical self-consciousness,¹ provided that the latter serve the purposes of spontaneous individuality. Only those forms of critical self-examination

¹ This problem of spontaneity as naïveté is one of the principal factors in the conflict between the myth of the Golden Age and the theory of organic development. See last section of this chapter.

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which thwart and pervert spontaneity and folk individuality are rejected by him.

He asserts in another passage in *Ossian*:

All "unpoliced" [i.e., spontaneous] peoples sing and act. They sing what they act. Its songs are the archives of a people, the treasury of its science and religion, of its theogony and cosmogony, of the deeds of its fathers and events of its history, the impress of its heart, the pictures of its domestic life, in joy and sorrow, at the marriage bed and at the grave. . . . There they all paint, they all reveal themselves as they are. The warlike nation sings deeds, the tender, love. The intellectually keen peoples compose riddles, the imaginative folk allegories, similes, living pictures. A warmly passionate people can sing only of passion, as a people placed in terrible circumstances can create only terrible gods. A little collection of such songs out of the mouth of each people, dealing with the principal objects and actions of its life, in its own speech, properly interpreted and accompanied with its tune—how much life would it give to all those particulars for which the readers of travelers' accounts are most eager, namely the mental characteristics and the manners of a nation. Of its science and language! Of play and dance, music and teachings concerning its gods! Of all these we should win, from such a collection or from a lord's prayer cast in such speech, a much better conception than from the babble of a traveler. As natural history describes plants and animals, so in their songs peoples describe themselves.

From the spontaneous songs of a folk we

gain above all concrete conceptions, and by comparing these songs as to language, contents, sounds, and, particularly, as to their cosmogonies and histories of the fathers, we could form many and reliable conclusions as to their origins, propagation, and intermingling.

Even in Europe, which is very densely populated, there are a number of nations whose literary sources are entirely neglected. Esthonians and Letts, Wends and Slavs, Poles and Russians, Frisians and Prussians, have many songs which have not been collected as have been those of the Icelanders, the Danes, the Swedes, not to speak of the English, the Scots and Britons, and the southern peoples. And yet there are among the former so many persons whose office and task it is to study the language, manner, mental character, old prejudices, and customs of each nation! By doing it properly they would give to other nations the most living grammar, the best dictionary and natural history of their peoples. Only they must give it as it is, in the original language and with sufficient interpretation, not spoiled and debased, nor beautified and refined; if possible, with the original tunes and all the accompaniments pertaining to the life of the people.

In *Shakespeare*, after characterizing the classical Greek drama he concludes: The classical French dramatists tried to imitate the classical Greek drama in a changed world. They tried to graft Greek native simplicity on modern complexity and sophistication, with the result that the product was neither modern nor classical art but a pretense and perversion. French "classicism" was pseudo-classicism, because it did not rise from the conditions of national life and character.

The truly classic dramatist coming next after the Greeks is Shakespeare, because his drama is really indigenous. "Shakespeare found about him nothing less than simplicity of native manners, deeds, impulses, and historical traditions." He did not try, as the French classical drama did, merely to introduce some variations into the traditional art. "He found no simple character of people and nation but a multiplicity of classes, conditions of life, states of mind, peoples, and languages." "He took history as he found it and through his creative pains combined the most variegated material into a miraculous unity." "It is particularly the new, the first, the fundamentally different things, which reveal the original power of [the dramatist's] vocation."

In the drama, as in lyrical poetry, Herder advises his German contemporaries, if they wish to learn by examples, to turn to Shakespeare rather than to the Greeks, because the world and character of Shakespeare's plays are much more akin to them than those of the Greeks. "Shakespeare teaches, moves and informs northern man." "Stand before his scene as you stand before a sea of events, where rolls roaring wave upon wave." "His plays have living individuality and local character [*Lokalgeist*] from beginning to end."

England, he continues, accomplished its political unity long before his own age at a time when Germany was still far from a common national consciousness; and so the former produced a national literature. All the ancient wealth of the English tongue, he declares, is being recovered. In Germany, on the other hand, little is done for folk song and no more for the old knightly poetry. Only the Manesse manuscript has been used in Bodmer's edition of *Songs by One Hundred and Forty Minnesingers of the Swabian School*, published in Zürich, 1758-59. But that example has led to no tradition

of collecting folk songs such as exists in England. Most of the works of that age which have been collected reflect Romanic influences. But even in them the German elements have not been studied.

He recommends Percy's *Reliques* as the best model for a collection of national folk songs. He praises Bürger, whose *Lenore*, inspired by the *Reliques*, had caused a literary sensation, as one who has profited by the example of Scotch folk song. But he scorns the "bardic squall" (*Bardenwindsbraut*) of the inferior imitators of Klopstock, men like Kretschmann, who wrote under the name of Ringulph, because they mistook a narrow and false, egotistic-nationalistic caricature for the true folk character.¹

Klopstock he regards as a true, if minor folk singer, in an interesting passage of literary criticism. He says that Klopstock "rarely [treats] complete subjects," but rather "small traits taken from these subjects, rarely complete duties, actions, and images, figures [*Gestalten*] of the heart, but rather fine shades, often mere 'intermediate shades,' of emotions." His songs are therefore "not always songs of the people." Yet they embody many important qualities of folk poetry; "and the boldest song by Klopstock, full of abrupt transitions and inversions, taught to a child and properly sung by it a few times, is certain to mean more to it and to remain more deeply and permanently implanted in its mind, than the most dramatic commonplace about love, in which no connective or conjunction and no intermediate idea is omitted."

Since Herder's method of characterizing folk poetry in terms of environment depended for correctness of results on the authenticity of his sources, it sometimes happened that conclusions in themselves correct and instructive were yet contrary to fact. He, like his contemporaries, was misled into the assumption that MacPherson's poems, collected under the title *Ossian*, which were inspired by ancient Celtic legends, were, as MacPherson pretended to a too literal public—and himself undoubtedly believed, possessed as he must have been by the vision of inner identities characteristic of the symbolistic type of mind revealed in his poems—literally a collection of old folk songs, like Percy's *Reliques*; and so based on them

¹ See his review, published 1772; Suphan's edition of his *Sämmtliche Werke* (SSW.), V, 334 ff.; also pp. 330-34.

his analysis of the folk character of the ancient Celts, particularly the Scots. He contrasts *Ossian* with some old Scandinavian songs, and concludes that the Scandinavians were "no doubt a wilder, more rugged people than the gentle, idealized Scots" [!] "I know," he continues, "no song of the former peoples in which flow gentle emotions; their course passes over rocks and ice and frozen earth."

He, in common with his contemporaries, was also unaware that much of the Scaldic poetry, representing as it does a late, oversophisticated, and degenerate type of Norse poetry, could no more satisfy his tests of *Volksmässigkeit* than that part of contemporary poetry which he condemned. His conclusion as to the actual folk character of the ancient Scandinavians is therefore also subject to modification.

But such errors, since they do not arise from his method of analysis but from an accidental flaw in the authenticity of his material, do not vitiate the former.

ENVIRONMENT AND LITERARY FORM

Herder's view involved, as we have seen, the conviction that form is a specific and organic part of individuality, and therefore subject to no independent rules, but to the criteria of individual or "characteristic" consistency. This conclusion was misunderstood by a long succession of theoretic critics of Herder, as an assertion of the *exclusive* validity of the criteria of characteristic expressiveness, involving the rejection of the requirement of formal beauty.

Friedrich Schlegel seems to have been the first to give currency to this judgment. In 1796, he published a review¹ of the seventh and eighth collections of Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe*, which had appeared in the same year, and in which were summed up Herder's conclusions regarding the "spirit and value of modern poetry." The gist of Friedrich Schlegel's criticism is contained in the last passages of his review:

The *result* is the denial that the poesies of different times and peoples can be compared; and even that there is a *universal standard* of values. But has this been proved?—Even if there exists no faultless attempt to

¹ In Reichardt's *Deutschland*, Vol. III, Berlin, 1796, ninth number. Reprinted in J. Minor's edition (*Friedrich Schlegel, 1794-1802. Seine prosaischen Jugendschriften*, Hrg. v. J. Minor, Wien, 1882), II, 41-48.

classify poetry, is such a classification altogether [*überhaupt*] impossible?—The *method* of considering every flower of art only according to space, time, and species, *without regard to values*, would in the end lead to no other result except that everything had to be what it was and is.¹

This criticism lays the charge of aesthetic naturalism against both Herder's method of individualization and principle of form.

Naturalism in art and literature is the doctrine that both substance and form must be an immediate and literal, or at least the most immediate and literal possible, expression of actuality, and particularly of the creative and formal elements of the environment.

The Storm-and-Stress movement, proclaiming the exclusive principles of "characteristic" art and "local color," lay open to Friedrich Schlegel's criticism. His shallow identification of a one-sided and immature doctrine with Herder's great conception has exerted an undeserved influence on literary criticism to the present day.

Schlegel's criticism had its motives in his idolization of Goethe, which was just entering upon its most extravagant and characteristically subjective stage, and in the conflicts involved in the rupture between Herder and Goethe, which had just been consummated. Herder, who was out of patience with Goethe's reversion to the Schiller-Kantian form of pseudo-classicism, had said in the *Humanitätsbriefe* reviewed by Schlegel, that "Goethe had approached the form of the ancients through an 'indifferent' [*teilnahmlose*], exact description of visual reality and an active representation of his characters." It was the reproach contained in the attribute "indifferent," which, as is indicated by a parenthetical note in the review, stung Schlegel's partisan devotion into resentment. It is not impossible that Goethe, who stood in need of justification of his breach with Herder, which involved a breach with his own creative motive that had been dominant since his Strassburg days in 1770, was not unwilling to accept the championship of Schlegel, and did not scrutinize very closely the latter's argument.

Goethe and Schiller, however, joined with the charge of naturalism another one incompatible with the former and equally unjust, namely that of an odious ethical dogmatism. This contradiction strengthens the suspicion that the main motives of the estrange-

¹ Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 48. The italics are Schlegel's.

ment lay in regions more profound than those of theoretic discourse. Is it unlikely that Goethe felt a vague unwilling discomfort, akin to artistic remorse, rising from his repudiation of the deepest impulses of his poetical nature?

Herder's principle of organic individualization was the opposite of Schiller's Kantian doctrine of the *reine Formen*. Agreement was impossible, and affections took sides with views. It is the tragic folly of men, great as well as small, that they complicate antagonisms which are beyond control, with pride and resentment, to the grievous hurt of all.

Occasionally, but chiefly in passages of rhetorical generalities, Herder seems guilty of the naturalistic fault of interpreting environment as the immediate agent in producing particular literary forms. At one time he says of the classical Greek drama:¹ "The artfulness of its rules was not art [i.e., deliberate contrivance] but nature; simplicity of the fable² was unity of the action which passed in review before the Greeks, and which under the prevailing conditions of time, fatherland, religion, and manners could not be different." But in the main, and particularly in his specific conclusions, he confined himself consistently to the mediate relationship between the organic conditions and the formal expressions of personality. The formal functions of environment became thus the indirect yet specific factors of individualization.

As everything in the world changes, so changed also the particular nature which created the Greek drama. The constitution of the world, manners, conditions of the republics, traditions of the heroic age, religious faith, even music, expression, standards of illusion changed, and with them, as a matter of course, also material for dramatic plots, occasions for composition, and purposes.³

He selected German translations of foreign works of literature, which were a large and important part of the literary output of the time, as particularly fitted for tests of his formal conclusions. A comparison of different methods of form with various types of environment were likely to lead to definite results. A large number of his ideas on this subject are scattered through his *Fragmente*,

¹ *Shakespeare*.

² The term is used in the dramaturgic sense.

³ *Shakespeare*.

especially the first two collections. They reappear in a more coherent form in his *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*, which was occasioned by Denis' translation of MacPherson's *Ossian* into German hexameters. Starting with the observation that the "original utterance of a wild mountain people" is out of harmony with the form of the translation, he develops many interesting and important conclusions regarding the specific relations between environment and literary forms. The temptation is great to collect and classify all these details. But since the subject of the present essays is the exposition of Herder's fundamental ideas and not his aesthetic theories in detail, the latter will have to wait their turn.

It will suffice to quote the passage in which he gives a universal expression to his rejection of formal naturalism. He says:

Space and Time are properly nothing in themselves. They are matters merely relative to being, action, passion, sequence of ideas and measure of attention within and without the soul. Have you, good time-keeper of the drama, never had times in your life when hours became moments, and days, hours; and, contrariwise, when hours became days, and night-vigils, years? Have you never been in situations when your soul dwelt wholly without you, here, in the romantic room of your beloved, there, at that stark corpse, here in this oppression of external, shameful want—and when it flew out beyond world and time, leaped over spaces and cosmic regions, forgetting everything about itself and living in the heaven, in the soul, in the heart of him whose being at that time took the place of your own?¹

Herder obliterates the artificial division, but not the proper distinction, between substance and form. He denies the possibility of comprehending and judging form apart from the genetic individuality which actuates it. Every application of a rule of form is with him a new development and refinement of it, because each application involves a reference to a new particular character of individuality. Every principle of form is thus not a fixed item in a general static formula, but a further stage in the growth of a living reality revealed by the proper method of induction in accordance with the law of agreement. Form is part of the ceaseless but ordered flux of organic life. The final decision lies, however, with the individual critic only in so far as he is borne out by the permanent judgment of the particular folk individuality of which he is a part and mouthpiece.

¹ In *Shakespeare*.

The validity of Herder's judgments rests in the first place on the correctness of his interpretations of the individualizing functions of environment. He warns against both false limitations and over-generalizations. He protests, as we have seen, against the narrow egotistic-nationalistic view represented by the *Bardenwindsbraut* of his age, and against the confusion of the folk with both the mob and the "pedants" and the oversophisticated class generally. He also scorns the mere curiosities and externalities gathered in travelers' tales. He seeks the deeper, symptomatic significance of details. There may be found, he says,¹ profound likenesses in apparently opposite conditions. Essential identity of representative utterance or act must imply essential identity of individuality. If it should appear

that Sappho and a Lithuanian girl sang of love in the same manner, surely, then, the rules governing their song must be true; for then they must be rooted in the nature of love and reach to the ends of the earth. If Tyraeus and an Iclander intone their battle songs in the same manner, then their poetic forms must be true, because they reach from one end of the earth to the other.

Herder was not a betrayer of beauty. On the contrary, it was he, above all men of his generation, who rescued it from the lifeless formalism of rationalism or pseudo-classicism and transplanted it into the rich and living ground of his conception of genetic individuality. One has to read only the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to realize how clearly he was recognized as the herald of the new vision of beauty, the awakener of the most gifted among the young generation of Germany, including Goethe. Goethe came to Strassburg, restive yet captive in the bondage of Leipzig rationalistic convention; he left it, less than a year later, in full career toward the greatest modern achievement in letters. All his greatest works, his most beautiful songs, his best dramas, his novels, including his *Wilhelm Meister* in its most vital parts, and above all, his *Faust*, were the fruits of ideas, partly released, but to no small part begotten, by Herder's teaching. By acquiescing in the flimsy misjudgment of Friedrich Schlegel and abandoning Herder, he deserted for a time his own truest self.

¹ *Ossian*.

Herder cannot be charged with responsibility for the Storm and Stress. He was more distressed and irritated than Goethe by the crudeness and ugliness of the products of that movement, which was the turbulent expression of a group of immature, and for the most part inferior talents, who by the immoderation of their tempers, their inadequate knowledge and judgment, and their violent egotism, would have caricatured and did caricature any conception of the age, no matter how profound and true.

In one of his best utterances, his prize essay *Über die Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*,¹ which belongs to the same period as the essays on folk literature, Herder has expressed his unmistakable condemnation of the Storm-and-Stress movement on account of the very fault which Friedrich Schlegel and Goethe and Schiller attributed to him. After stating that there is a doctrine abroad which insists that genius requires no training and would only suffer in its originality from a study of the best models, especially the ancients, he continues:

An evil demon invented this principle, which is the ugliest untruth. A genius that would be spoiled by taste! Let it pass away! Better that it should perish now than live to corrupt others. He that is corrupted by knowledge of the ancients—let him be corrupted! He has nothing to lose. They are always appealing to Shakespeare. What of Shakespeare? Had he no taste, no rules? More than anyone else; but they were the taste of *his*² time, the rules for that which *he* could accomplish. Had he with his genius lived in the times of the ancients, does anyone believe that he would have fought against taste?

There are other passages in the same vein, in others of his works. But this quotation may suffice.

Herder did not teach that beauty is secondary, but that its primary seat is in specific individuality, to which form is secondary. Form as such has neither meaning nor beauty. Only form instinct with beautiful and significant individuality is beautiful and significant. Beauty and significance organically combined are his postulates for art and literature.

As to significance, Herder rejected the rationalistic interpretation of it as an abstraction constituted of ratiocinative ideas, as well as

¹ First edition 1773, second, 1775.

² The emphasis is Herder's.

the naturalistic Storm-and-Stress view that a literal acceptance and reproduction of actuality alone bears the impress of truth. In determining this conception he resorted again to the inductive method. He sought the selective agent or principle not in discursive formulas, nor in a fixed direction of attention toward literal fact, nor finally in an arbitrary subjective preference, such as romanticism was soon to proclaim, but in the permanent historical verdict of a people.

The same method he applied to the formal principles of beauty. Not only what mattered, but also in what form it properly mattered, i.e., what form embodied the proper principles of beauty in fullest harmony with the specific substance of each individual matter, this question also he brought before the tribunal of permanent, historical, integral folk judgment.

He gave an entirely new meaning to taste or poetic-artistic judgment. Like its functions, so taste itself has neither absolute existence nor absolute validity. Taste itself is in turn a function of the whole organism of the mind and with the latter organically conditioned.¹

To sum up: Herder discovered the genetic criteria of substance and form of literature and art in their specific relations to each other and in their organic unity within particular individuality. The pseudo-classical formalism of Schiller and Goethe in the last decade of the century was a temporary reversion to a doctrine which Herder had disposed of a score of years before.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MYTH OF THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE THEORY OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Herder's conception of folk personality is, as we have seen, a combination of a twofold induction, one part of which is derived from an analysis of the formal characteristics of representative folk utterance, and the other from a historical account of the principal genetic conditions of particular folk individualities. The unity of this combination is assured by his interpretation of form as an index of individuality, i.e., by his subordination of form to personality.

¹ See the next chapter.

There appear in passages and summaries drawn in this chapter from Herder's works, a number of terms, phrases, and judgments, which seem to betray a fundamental division among his conclusions. In several passages in *Ossian*,¹ he seems to accept Rousseau's and Hamann's ideal of the "natural man," the primitive savage untouched by the disintegrating self-consciousness and intellectuality of civilization, as the perfect type of personality. This natural man is supposed to be in spontaneous, unreflective, faultless command of the totality of the faculties of man, spiritual, ethical, and physical. The intellect, interpreted as ratiocinative self-consciousness, is condemned as the destroyer of this spontaneous harmony. Its arrival in the history of man is the moment of his fall.

This "natural man" is the eighteenth-century form of the pagan ideal of perfection embodied in the myth of the Golden Age. In the detailed elaboration of their versions of this universal myth, however, both Rousseau and Hamann were influenced by their intense devotion to Christianity. They found in the story of the Garden of Eden, in the sinfulness of eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and in the misery resulting from the fall, divine confirmation of their ideal of man and of their condemnation of rationalism. The discursive reason becomes Satan in the theology of Rousseau and Hamann.

Herder, primarily as an imaginative man gifted with the symbolic vision of mythology, and secondarily as a theologian, was at first strongly attracted to Rousseau's and Hamann's myth. We can distinguish four periods in his attitude toward it. During the immature years of the *Fragmente*, he was, as indicated by the *Fragmente*,² strongly influenced by the naturalistic or pagan part of Rousseau's doctrine. He based his literary principles almost exclusively on classical, especially Greek, and on ancient oriental, as he characteristically called Old Testament, literatures. In the next period, comprising his travels, his visit to Strassburg, and the early part of his residence in Bückeburg, from about 1770-73, he was still more alienated from the theological point of view, going even so far as to deny the immortality of the soul. He became absorbed in

¹ See the first part of this chapter, *Modern Philology*, November, 1921, pp. 124-29.

² Including his literal interpretation of the four ages of language.

the investigations of the relations between the physiological and biological environment and the mind of man, laying down his first conclusions in the essay on the *Origin of Language*, his most important work of the first part of this period. The latter part of this period was devoted to the continuation of his studies of folk literature and led to a gradual substitution of the historical view for the fallacy of the Golden Age. Among the essays which are the subject of this chapter, *Ossian* shows more traces of the myth than the others. *Shakespeare* is almost free from them.

The third period covers the remainder of his stay in Bückeburg until his removal to Weimar. Under the influence of his duties and associations as court preacher he developed an interest and a theological belief in the story of the Garden of Eden. He produced, beside important theological polemics against rationalism in religion, his *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* and *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, which latter contains the germs of the *Ideen*. Both are serious and ambitious, yet his least satisfactory and profitable works, because they express beside much that is valuable and profound, an illogical tendency to force a literal acceptance of the story of the Garden of Eden upon the interpretation of history.

After his escape from the intellectual and imaginative isolation in Bückeburg, in 1776, however, and with the beginning of his intimate contact with the richest mental environment of the age, in Weimar, he rapidly regained his clarity. In his *Ideen*, in which he completed his ideas of the conditions of historical development, the genetic view held exclusive sway.

In Herder's conception of folk personality and folk literature the crucial terms in which the conflict between the myth of the Golden Age and the theory of historical development is manifested in its essence, are spontaneity and the conditions of individuality. The conflict involves analogous divergences in the interpretation of each.

Individuality, in the myth, would be not merely a primary fact of concrete reality but an absolute datum, proceeding directly and inscrutably from the hand of the Creator. Rousseau could consider the environment represented by changed conditions of human society only as hostile to the primal perfection of man. Particular individuality, the product of specific factors in the continuous change of

environment, and the primary fact of Herder's view of reality, appeared to Rousseau as a form of sinfulness and loss of original integrity, symbolized, theologically, in the fall, and philosophically, in the inner division marked by the rise of critical self-consciousness.

Spontaneity, the volitional expression of individual integrity, must be, and is, in the myth consistently interpreted as the unconscious push of the totality of individual being, i.e., the opposite of action involving analytic judgment. This conception, which was to become one of the chief tenets of later romanticism, limits spontaneity to the function of a blind and passive, integral momentum wholly beyond scrutiny and control. The historical view, on the other hand, must regard spontaneity as an organic combination of all the principal functions of individuality, including ratiocination. In the myth, spontaneity is an absolute, mystical, primary unit, withdrawn beyond the limits of any save "transcendental," or speculative, analysis; in the genetic view, it is an organic harmony of different "powers" or "faculties" (as the terms were in the eighteenth century), or functions, and so amenable to empirical analysis. In the former, ingenuousness and naïveté appear as primary and indispensable ignorance and unconsciousness of self; in the latter, as the highest forms of knowledge and possession of self in a unity of idea and expression which is the product of the most comprehensive and appropriate synthesis possible of sensation, emotion, imagination, and ratiocination. The mythical form of spontaneity dwells at the absolute beginning, at the mystical divine fountain head of life; the genetic, at the historical point of greatest fulness and co-ordination of the principal energies of being.

Spontaneity is thus the definitive concrete evidence of individuality; and the method of interpreting its composition, the specific index of each of the two opposite views.

The genetic conception was decisive in Herder's view of the conditions of individuality. It was dominant in his main conclusions even amid the mythological rhetoric of the *Fragmente*. In his prize essay on the *Origin of Language*, he had given an exhaustive outline of his theory of organic psychology, which remained, essentially unchanged, throughout his subsequent works the basis of his account of individuality. As to his conception of spontaneity in folk literature, it is

sufficient to recall the conclusive passage¹ in which he insists that a modern poet, in order to become a true folk poet, must carefully analyze and judge the character of his poetic subject; and that even an "intellectual" theme may become true folk poetry provided the analysis embodied in its composition be an appropriate expression of its inherent intention.

Immediately after, partly even during, his studies of folk literature, he returned to renewed and exhaustive investigations of organic psychology. His most important results appeared in *Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks*, a prize essay, published in 1773 and again in 1775; and *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele*, published 1774, 1775, and again, much revised, in 1778.

His conceptions of environment attained to complete and final expression in his *Ideen*. In the first part, on which he began writing in October, 1782, and which was published Easter, 1784, he sums up his position thus: Man is a product of nature. The laws of history are therefore the laws of nature. "Even spirit and morality are physics."²

The mass, the continuity and consistency, and the specific definition of his genetic theory, together with the express assertion of inclusiveness contained in the *Ideen*, present an evidence so overwhelming that the early lapses should be ignored as irrelevant and temporary. Herder-at-the-goal himself has corrected Herder-on-the-way. The remnants of the myth of the Golden Age, which can be discovered in his essays on folk literature, should be understood in the main as expressions of a rhetorical enthusiasm cast in the forms of current and graphic symbols of naturalness and simplicity. As regards particularly the identification of the formal virtues of folk poetry, namely, vividness, concreteness, choice of substantive terms, originality, authenticity, economy, simplicity, perception of essentials, unity, and force,³ with a state of primeval naïveté, innocent of any trace of ratiocination, this manifest absurdity disappears if it is taken not literally but as a personification of the qualities which the same method of analysis that underlay his genetic view had revealed as the characteristic expression of folk personality.

¹ P. 365 above.

² *Auch Geist und Moralität sind Physik.*

³ See my summary on pp. 124 ff. of the first part of this chapter, *Modern Philology*, November, 1921.

The original and permanent substance of his interpretation of folk literature lies in these characterizations and is not affected by flurries of doctrine. We have but to bear in mind that in the *Fragmente*, and also, though less explicitly, in the essays on folk poetry, he counted not only the authors of the ancient folk ballads, epics, and mythologies, but also those of the Old Testament and classical Greek poetry, including Homer and Sophocles, among the savages and primitives, in order to realize that his use of these terms was metaphorical.

The positive motive of the myth of the Golden Age is the universal longing, which is most potent and creative among the highly gifted peoples, for a state of perfection and complete harmonious unity of being. This longing antedates history and must have been coeval with the first stir of intelligence. It has brought with it, in every known embodiment, as its negative correlative, a fixed aversion to ratiocination. The discursive understanding is in all these myths the divider, the destroyer of unity and innocence, the tempter, the enemy of perfection. In all mythologies from the time of the story of the Garden of Eden until the present, it has been in one form or another characteristic of the principle of Evil. The revolt of the eighteenth century against rationalism, which by its shallow and tyrannical formalism had become odious and intolerable to imaginative and creative natures, revived the ancient myth. It was but natural that in the resentment and heat of conflict the negative animus of the myth should have become now and then unduly prominent.

This abounding animus was shared by Herder, and, joined with the quick pugnacity of his temperament, broke forth now and then during the earlier years of his critical activity, in polemical exaggerations. His praises of the perfection of savages and primitives, his reliance on the intuitions of "unverdorbene Kinder, Frauenzimmer, Leute von gutem Naturverstande"¹ sprang from the rhetorical desire for telling contrast with the empty sophistication and formalism of the "pedants" of contemporaneous rationalism.

The theological phase of this polemical ardor, which is attested by his *Letters on the Study of Theology*, the records of his religious

¹ *Ossian*, chap. viii.

campaign against rationalism, accounts for the passages in *Über die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* and *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in which historical reality is attributed to the story of the Garden of Eden.

There is, however, a deeper view in which the contradictions between the historical and the mythological account are reconciled. A myth, so universal and persistent as that of the Golden Age, must contain an essential truth.

The crucial difference between the two accounts is that of the particular point at which each places the state of perfection within the order of the events of human history. The myth sets perfection at the absolute beginning, the genetic account at a later point. In the former every later epoch is the product of a division, a break-up of the primary divine unity; in the latter, the sum of the accumulations of a process of organic development. In the former, the present is always a minus, which must keep on growing less throughout the future; and the past, at the beginning of time, can alone be the home of spiritual longing. In the latter, the present is ever another way station forward, and the future instead of the past is the warder of the Golden Age and the Garden of Eden.

The historical is the objective order of events in their actual sequence. The mythological is the inner order of the unfolding of self-consciousness. In the latter every previous state appears as unity and simplicity, every subsequent stage as division, continually, throughout an endless chain of unity broken by division, and ever again unity followed by division. The order of self-consciousness is the reverse of that of objective events. The myth of the Golden Age is, within its proper order, as objective and true as history. It becomes false only if it is removed from the inner to the historical order; if its focus of vision is by hypostasis superimposed upon that pertaining to the literal order, with the result that both the highest and the lowest stages in the development of man are regarded at the same time as the starting-point and the goal, as the primary and the ultimate term.

The confusion of the two orders of thought, the literal and the metaphorical, is the principal characteristic of a rudimentary stage of historical perspective, such as prevailed at the time of Herder's

beginning. It was he who, throughout a long series of progressive studies, developed the fundamental principles of modern history, which are those of the literal genetic order. An overwhelmingly heavy burden of proof rests on those, who, instead of ignoring the traces left by the passing age in his early ideas, and thus harmonizing his immature ideas with the clear and permanent principles of his mature thought, would load him with responsibility for a confusion which the major trend of his work did more than the endeavor of any of his contemporaries, to eradicate.

History, in the meaning created by Herder, is an account of personality, inductively conceived as spontaneity embodied in forms progressively collective, in accordance with the growth of knowledge of the genetic relation between environment and individual life. Its final aim is to combine all the various stages of individuality into an organic conception of humanity, which is to serve each individual not as an absolute and fixed standard of truth, value, and beauty, but as the guiding principle in the discovery and development of his best powers.

Unser Verstand ist nur ein Verstand der Erde, aus Sinnlichkeiten, die uns hier umgeben, allmählich gebildet; so ist's auch mit den Trieben und Neigungen unseres Herzens; eine andre Welt kennt ihre äusserlichen Hilfsmittel und Hindernisse wahrscheinlich nicht. . . . [Man is the final product of all the history of the earth.] Mancherlei Verbindungen des Wassers, der Luft, des Lichts, mussten vorhergegangen sein, ehe der Same der ersten Pflanzen-organisation, etwa das Moos, hervorgehen konnte. Viele Pflanzen mussten hervorgegangen und gestorben sein, ehe eine Tier-organisation ward; und bei dieser gingen Insekten, Vögel, Wasser- und Nachttiere den gebildeteren Tieren der Erde und des Tages vor; bis endlich nach allen die Krone der Organisation unserer Erde, der Mensch, auftrat, Mikrokosmos. Er, der Sohn aller Elemente und Wesen, ihr erlesenster Inbegriff und gleichsam die Blüte der Erdenschöpfung, konnte nichts andres als das letzte Schosskind der Natur sein, zu dessen Bildung und Empfang viele Entwicklungen und Revolutionen vorhergegangen sein mussten.¹

Further conclusions upon the matters discussed in this chapter have to await an examination of the foundations of Herder's psychology, which is the task of the next chapter.

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¹ Preface to *Ideen*.

[To be continued]

THE NIBELUNGEN SAGA AND THE GREAT IRISH EPIC

The long and intimate contact, during the ninth and tenth centuries, between the Irish and Norse settlers, in Ireland,¹ which furnished an easy means for the transmission of literature, has induced many scholars to point out specific elements of Norse literature that are borrowed from the Irish, or elements of the Irish that are borrowed from the Norse.² Prominent among these investigators was Professor Heinrich Zimmer, who tried to prove that the great Irish epic, the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, has been changed in many details as a result of the influence of the *Nibelungen* story.³ He has centered his attack especially on that most striking episode of the *Táin*, the combat at the ford between Cuchulainn and Ferdiad; and he maintains that the changes wrought under the Viking influence are of such a far-reaching nature that we can hardly form a clear picture of the original Irish story.⁴

¹ The intimacy of the contact between the Irish and the Norse during the Viking period is very generally admitted; but for the opinion that the contact was slight before the twelfth century, see W. Faraday, "On the Question of Irish Influence on Early Icelandic Literature," in *Memoirs of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. XLIV (1899-1900), No. 2, p. 20.

² For discussions of Celtic borrowings see, for example, A. Bugge, "Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, VI (1909-10), 494, 495; S. Bugge, *The Home of the Eddic Poems* (trans. by W. H. Schofield, London, 1899), pp. 71-96; A. Olrik, *The Heroic Legends of Denmark* (trans. by L. M. Hollander, New York, 1919), p. 360.

For discussions of Norse borrowings see A. Bugge, *op. cit.*, pp. 294, 295; S. Bugge, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 26, 28-66, 213, 214, 215, 268, 334, 352, 360 ff.; E. Hull, "Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, III (1902-4), 235-70; A. Olrik, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-92, 411, 412, 420, 486, 490, 505; J. Stefánsson, "Western Influence on the Earliest Viking Settlers," in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, V (1907-8), 288-96.

³ See "Germanen, germanische Lehnwörter und germanische Sagenelemente in der ältesten Überlieferung der irischen Heldensage," in *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 289 ff. The section of this article that treats of the *Nibelungen* influence has been discussed in one or more of its aspects by A. Nutt (*Archaeological Review*, II [1888], 137-42); H. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Revue Celt.*, IX [1888], 420-23); K. Meyer (*Revue Celt.*, X [1889], 360-69, and *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II [1916], 562, 563); H. Lichtenberger (*Le Poème et la Légende des Nibelungen* [Paris, 1891], pp. 432-34); C. Andler (*Quid ad Fabulas Heroicas Germanorum Hiberni Contulerint* [Tours, 1897], pp. 77 ff.); E. Windisch (*Táin Bó Cúalnge* [Leipzig, 1905], p. 439); S. Friedmann (*Pubblicazioni della R. Accademia Scientifico Letteraria* [Milan, 1913], pp. 271 ff.).

⁴ "Hier haben offenkundig mächtige verschiebungen der alten irischen sage stattgefunden, verschiebungen so durchgreifender natur, dass wir kaum mehr im stande sein werden, uns ein völlig klares bild von diesen episoden des Táinepos vor den einwirkung der germ. heldensage zu machen." Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1922]

At the time when the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode begins,¹ Cuchulainn had for a long time been harassing the invading forces of Queen Medb, defeating her champions in single combat, and arresting the advance of her army into Ulster. Medb, vainly seeking for a warrior of sufficient prowess to overcome Cuchulainn, decides to employ Cuchulainn's comrade, Ferdiad, who is considered especially competent because of his *conganchness*, or "horny skin." Ferdiad is induced to undertake the combat against his friend only by means of deception, threats, and princely offers; but once his promise is given, his sense of honor holds him to the unwelcome task. The two champions meet, not as enemies, but as friends driven to fight through the cajolery of Queen Medb. Cuchulainn is honor bound to defend the ford against all comers, and Ferdiad feels that he must make good the pledge extorted from him. At the end of the first day, and again at the end of the second day of the conflict, the friends embrace and exchange gifts. Finally, on the fourth day of continuous fighting, Cuchulainn gives Ferdiad a mortal wound and then falls grief stricken at his side saying:

What avails me courage now?
I'm oppressed with rage and grief,
For this deed that I have done
On this body sworded sore!²

In the long and passionate lament that follows Cuchulainn recalls his comradeship with Ferdiad and the blood-brotherhood that Scathach had made between them:

Then our famous nurse made fast
Our blood-pact of amity,
That our angers should not rise
'Mongst the tribes of noble Elg!

Sad the morn, a day in March,
Which struck down weak Daman's son.
Woe is me, the friend is fall'n
Whom I pledged in red blood's draught!³

¹ For text and German translation of the Book of Leinster version of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode, the version Zimmer usually refers to in his discussion, see E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-599. A good English translation of the same version of the story is given by J. Dunn, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (London, 1914), pp. 217-67.

² Translated by J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

³ Translated by J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 266. The Irish text (E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 591) is as follows:

Da naise ar mumml go m-blad
ar cró cotaig is óentad,
conna betis ar ferga
eter finí find-Elga.

Truáig in maten maten máirt,
ros bí mac Damáin dithraicht,
uchan dochara in cara
dara dallus dig n-dergfala.

Zimmer has not urged that this episode is a simple retelling of any part of the *Nibelungen* saga, a sector taken bodily out of the Germanic story; the great age of the Irish epic makes such a theory untenable, as Zimmer very readily admits.¹ What he does contend is that we can find in the episode certain striking features which prove that the original Irish story has been re-worked under the influence of the *Nibelungen* stories carried to Ireland by the Vikings. Five such features are emphasized:²

First, Ferdiad, like the German Siegfried,³ was provided with a horny skin. Second, the name *Ferdiad* means "man of mist" and is thus the Irish translation of Nibelung. Third, the whole tone of the episode is Germanic and altogether non-Irish. Fourth, the general situation in which Cuchulainn fights with four blood-brothers is a reflection of a similar situation in the *Nibelungen* saga.⁴ Fifth, Cuchulainn and Ferdiad are blood-brothers in the Germanic sense of the word; and blood-brotherhood was an institution unknown in Ireland until it was learned from the Norse invaders.

These five considerations taken together are, to say the least, striking. It is not surprising that such students of Scandinavian influence as Alexander Bugge,⁵ Eugene Mogk,⁶ and Wolfgang Golther⁷ have accepted Zimmer's view. For, according to Zimmer, we have

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 313, 314.

² See especially Zimmer, *ibid.*, pp. 291-313.

³ The German form of the name is (following Zimmer) used generally throughout this paper, though it is more probable, of course, that the Norse form, Sigurd, is nearer the form that would have been known in Ireland during the Viking period.

⁴ This feature does not appear in the summary given above, for it is not, as a matter of fact, sufficiently justified by the Irish story. See further discussion below.

⁵ See "Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland," Part II, pp. 17, 18, in *Videnskabselskabets Skrifter* (Christiania, 1900); "Professor Zimmer has proved that in the old Irish Sagas, there are traces of the old Scandinavian custom borrowed from the Vikings, of two men mingling their blood and becoming sworn brothers."

⁶ See "Kelten und Nordgermanen," in *Jahresbericht des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 24: "Aber nicht nur auf das praktische, auch auf das geistige Leben der Iren haben die Nordgermanen nicht unwesentlich eingewirkt. Nach Zimmers schönen Forschungen unterliegt dies keinem Zweifel mehr. In dem nordischen Sagenkreise, der Heldensage von Ulster, erscheint als Gegner des Cuchulinn Fer Diad mac Domain, der mit Hornhaut versehen ist, der mit seinem Gegner einst Blutbrüderschaft getrunken hat, der, wie Siegfried von Hagens, durch Cuchulinn's Hand fällt, ein treues Bild unseres germanischen Lieblingshelden."

⁷ See "Die Wielandsage und die Wanderung der Fränkischen Heldensage," in *Germania*, XXXIII (1888), 476: "Für diesen Gang der Ereignisse spricht auch das Bekanntwerden der Sagen von den Nibelungen in Irland durch die Wikinger im 9. oder in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts, welches von Zimmer nachgewiesen worden ist."

in the Irish story a hero whose very name is a translation of a name applied to Siegfried; who has, like Siegfried, a horny skin; and who has, again like Siegfried, sworn blood-brotherhood—a custom unknown among the early Irish—after the Scandinavian fashion with the man who is destined to kill him. And along with this array of evidence we have the assurance that the literary influence which we seem to see could readily have come through the intimate contact between the Irish and the Viking settlers.

But will Zimmer's various contentions bear analysis? It is the purpose of this paper to make a very hasty review of the first four contentions and to deal somewhat more fully with the fifth, which, on the face of it, is the weightiest of Zimmer's arguments.

As for the *conganchness*, or horny skin of Ferdiad, which Zimmer would equate with the invulnerable skin of Siegfried, we should remember that nowhere in the earliest Norse version of the *Nibelungen* story, that of the poetic *Edda*, is Siegfried represented as having a skin that could not be pierced by weapons. Nor does Siegfried have a horny skin either in the prose *Edda* or in the *Völ-sungasaga*. This feature does not appear in the Norse form of the *Nibelungen* story before the *Thidrekssaga*, which is generally recognized as a late Norwegian version of the thirteenth century, based on legends then current in north Germany.¹ It is, therefore, very probable that if the Irish of the ninth and tenth centuries heard any version of the Siegfried story, it was an earlier one in which the hero is not represented as having a horny skin.

But even if we grant that the Vikings in Ireland sang of an invulnerable Siegfried, it is not clear that we find a parallel in Ferdiad; for no less an authority than Professor Windisch holds that the *conganchness* was not an actual part of Ferdiad's body, but a kind of cuirass to be put on and off at will, and he cites passages from various manuscripts that would seem to establish his contention. He cites, for example, a passage in which Cuchulainn finds fault with Ferdiad for not showing him how his *conganchness* is closed and opened,² a

¹ For a summary of the opinions regarding the date and origin of the *Thidrekssaga*, see H. Bertleson, *Thidriks Saga af Bern* (Copenhagen, 1911), VI, liv-lvi. Zimmer recognizes (*op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff.) the lack of the horny skin in the early versions, but he argues that the Irish would have come in contact with the version represented by the *Thidrekssaga*.

² See Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 439. S. Friedmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff.) argues that the idea of the horny skin is so widespread that we may perhaps think of it as Indo-European.

complaint that would have no point if the horny skin were, like Siegfried's, a part of the body. Further proof of the armor-like nature of the *conganchness* is in the fact that Ferdiad is wounded over the edge of it:

Cuchulinn ergriff den Kurtzspeer, er schleuderte ihn von seiner Handfläche über den Rand des Schildes und über die Halsöffnung der Hornhaut, so dass die jenseitige Hälfte von ihm sichtbar wurde, nach Durchbohrung seines Herzens in seiner Brust.¹

The second contention, regarding the name *Ferdiad*, is also open to question. This name, which Zimmer regards as an Irish rendering of *Nibelung*, is a compound of the two words *fer*, meaning "man," and *dio*, genitive *diad*, which Zimmer translates "mist."² But Windisch maintains that *dio* means "smoke," and that *Ferdiad* is to be translated "man of smoke" rather than "man of mist."³ There is, however, in one of the sixteen or more manuscripts of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* a reading, *Ferdiad nêl nîdatha*, which would seem to be favorable to Zimmer's view regarding the influence of the word *Nibelung*. It remained for Professor Kuno Meyer to show, in a special article on this passage, that on account of well-established metrical laws the reading *nêl*, "cloud," must be considered an error on the part of the scribe of the one manuscript that gives it. Other manuscripts give a slightly different reading here, *ndeilimm datha*, which answers all metrical requirements and must be translated "shapely rod," an epithet frequently applied to warriors.⁴ Thus it

¹ Translated by E. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 562. The Irish text, as given by Windisch (p. 563) is as follows: "Boruairid Cuchulaind in certge, delghit do lár a dernainni dar bil in sceith 7 dar brollach in chonganchnis, gor bo rón in leth n-alltarach de ar tregtad a chride na cháfab." Zimmer argues (*op. cit.*, pp. 295-301) that this incident is a late addition made by a story-teller who has in mind the Siegfried story. But in that case, why does not the narrator make the *conganchness* an actual part of the body instead of implying that it was merely a part of the armor extending up to a certain point?

² See *op. cit.*, pp. 301-3. Zimmer argued that the inflection of both parts of the name *Ferdiad* showed it to be a nickname rather than a real name; but Friedmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 282, 283) has pointed out Irish real names in which the first element is inflected as well as the last.

³ See *op. cit.*, p. 439.

⁴ See "Ferdiad the Nibelung," in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II (1916), 562, 563.

H. Lichtenberger (*op. cit.*, p. 434) gives two further reasons why there could have been no influence of *Siegfried the Nibelung* on *Ferdiad*. In the first place, "Sigfrid n'est jamais dans aucun texte appelé Nibelunc; il serait donc bien étrange qu'il eût été connu sous ce nom en Irlande"; and secondly, "au viii^e siècle, époque à laquelle la légende doit avoir été importée en Irlande, nous savons que, sur territoire franc du moins, le nom de *Nibelunc* avait perdu sa signification étymologique de: *homme ou fils des ténébres*; nous avons donc le droit de nous étonner que les Irlandais aient compris et traduit un mot qui, dans la bouche des Germains, n'était probablement plus qu'un nom propre."

is evident that we have no sufficient grounds for believing that the name *Ferdiad* is an attempt on the part of the Irish story-tellers to translate *Nibelung*.

The contention in regard to the tone¹ of the Irish story is a matter of taste on which we can expect no absolute agreement. But certainly the vast majority of Celtic students will not agree that the spirit of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode is unknown elsewhere in Irish literature. A similar instance, both in tone and situation, appears in *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*,² when the old friends of Dermot are taken by their leader, Finn, against him, they all the time advising Finn against the expedition and aiding Dermot secretly. Or we may compare with the *Táin* episode the *Aided Énfir Áift*,³ in which Cuchulainn is brought into combat with his heroic son; or the whole situation in which Fergus finds himself in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* when he, an Ulster exile, accompanies Medb on the invasion of Ulster. And as for the pathos of the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode, it hardly surpasses that of *Longes mac nUisnig*,⁴ the Deirdre story.

The comparison between the general situations in the Irish and the Germanic stories is probably the weakest part of Zimmer's argument, for to any reader the differences must appear much more striking than the similarities. The best parallel is that between Cuchulainn's opposition to several blood-brothers and Siegfried's opposition to several blood-brothers; but this parallel is of no real service to Zimmer, since he has equated Cuchulainn, not with Siegfried, but with Hagen.⁵ And besides, Cuchulainn fights with more than four men at the ford, and of those men we have proof that only two, Ferdiad and Ferbaeth, were actually blood-brothers of Cuchulainn. As for the comparison between Cuchulainn killing Ferdiad and Hagen killing Siegfried, the objection is to be raised

¹ Zimmer cites several incidents from Germanic literature and then concludes (*op. cit.*, p. 304): "Ist hierin nicht echt germanisches heldenleben abgespiegelt? was hat die frische heldensage dem an die seite zu setzen? nichts; ein anderer geist weht aus ihr."

² A translation is given by P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1879.

³ Edited and translated in *Eriu*, I (1904), 113-21.

⁴ A translation is given by A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I (London, 1905), 91-109.

⁵ A. Nutt (*op. cit.*, pp. 137-42) notes this inconsistency in Zimmer's argument and points out the improbability that the Irish would have equated their greatest hero, the victorious Cuchulainn, with the villain Hagen.

that in the earliest version of the Norse Nibelung story—the version that the Irish would have known, if any—Siegfried is not killed by Hagen.

This hasty survey of Zimmer's first four contentions is, perhaps, sufficient to show that they are all open to serious question and give but little support to his hypothesis. But the fifth and most important contention, which has met with considerable favor,¹ is enough within itself, if established, to give much weight to the hypothesis. If it is true that blood-brotherhood was a custom unknown among the early Irish and that the blood-brotherhood mentioned in the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode is of the Scandinavian type, then we should have to admit some general Scandinavian influence, if not a specific Nibelungen influence.

We may first inquire into the correctness of Zimmer's view that the Irish knew nothing of blood-brotherhood until they learned it from the Vikings. It is now a well-established fact that covenanting by some use of the blood of the covenanters, the custom known as blood-brotherhood, has been practiced in nearly all parts of the world. Scores of examples are recorded,² showing that blood-brotherhood has been known throughout the centuries, from hundreds of years before Christ among the early Scythians³ down to our own day among savage tribes.⁴ And the practice is found in such widely scattered regions as America,⁵ Australia,⁶ Africa,⁷ Europe,⁸

¹ See A. Bugge (*op. cit.*, p. 17); E. Mogk (*op. cit.*, p. 24); W. Gölther (*op. cit.*, XXXIII [1888], 476); and H. Lichtenberger (*op. cit.*, p. 433). Even such Celtists as A. Nutt (*loc. cit.*) and H. Gaidoz (*Mélusine*, IX [1899], 235) have touched upon Zimmer's discussion of blood-brotherhood without recording a dissenting opinion.

² See J. P. Hamilton-Grierson, "Brotherhood (Artificial)," *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, II (1910), 857-71; M. Pappenheim, *Die Altdänischen Schutzgilden*, Breslau, 1885; H. C. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, London, 1887; S. Ciszewski, *Künstliche Verwandtschaft bei den Südlaven*, Cracovie, 1897.

³ See Lucian, *Toxaris*, chap. xxxvii; Herodotus, *Historiae*, IV, chap. lxx; for other early examples of blood-brotherhood mentioned by Herodotus, see *Historiae*, I, chap. lxxiv; III, chaps. vii, viii.

⁴ See V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York, 1877), p. 233; B. Spencer and W. Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (New York, 1904), pp. 372, 560, 562, 598.

⁵ See H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, I (New York, 1874), 636, 637; F. Fletcher, *World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hackluyt Society, London, 1854), p. 54.

⁶ See B. Spencer and S. Gillen, *op. cit.*; B. Spencer and S. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (New York, 1899), pp. 461, 462.

⁷ See H. M. Stanley, *The Congo*, II (London, 1885), 23, 24, 104, 105; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York, 1889), pp. 525, 526.

⁸ See F. S. Krauss, in *Am Ur-Quell*, Neue Folge, I (1890), 194-96; P. B. Du Chailly, *Viking Age*, II (New York, 1899), 61.

and Asia.¹ Since the early Celts were unquestionably in a cultural state at which blood-brotherhood would have flourished, it is only reasonable to suppose that they, as well as their neighbors, were acquainted with the custom. And furthermore, the wide distribution of the Celtic tribes throughout middle Europe in historical or semi-historical times gave them an unusually good opportunity to learn of blood-brotherhood before the period of their migration to the British Islands—if, indeed, we can suppose that they were not already acquainted with the custom at that early period.

But we do not need to rely merely on probabilities, for there is abundant evidence that the Irish practiced blood-brotherhood. The Welsh historian, Giraldus Cambrensis, writing not later than two years after his visit to Ireland in 1185, not only describes the custom as he knew it, but also records the tradition that it was practiced by the Irish in heathen times.² And Martin, a native of the Hebrides who traveled extensively among the Celtic islands off the western coast of Scotland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, reports (apparently on the authority of local tradition) how the ancient islanders had ratified their leagues of friendship "by drinking a drop of each other's blood."³ But, after all, the real evidence for the Celtic custom is found in early Irish literature, which preserves at least eight separate and distinct examples of blood-brotherhood.⁴

¹ See A. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, II (London, 1881-91), 264; D. M. Smeaton, *Loyal Karens of Burma* (London, 1887), pp. 168, 169; Herodotus, *loc. cit.*

² Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica* (ed. by J. F. Dimmock, "Rolls Series," London, 1867), distinctio III, caput XXII.

³ M. Martin, *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1884), p. 109.

⁴ For these eight examples see:

Bóroma, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celt.*, XIII (1892), 72-77.

Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. and tr. by E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 434-599; see also J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-67.

Táin Bó Cúalnge, ed. and tr. by E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 290-97; see also J. Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-54.

Tochmarc Emire, ed. by K. Meyer, *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.*, III (1901), 259; tr. by K. Meyer in E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* (London, 1898), pp. 81-82. The same blood-brotherhood is also recorded in *Aided Lugdach occus Derbforgaile*, ed. and tr. by C. Marstarnder, *Eriu*, V (1911), 208, 214.

Aided Muirchertaig maic Erca, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Revue Celt.*, XXIII (1902), 405-7. Stokes omits a poem of seven stanzas that throws much light on the blood-covenant. This poem has, however, been edited and translated from the *Yellow Book of*

And since half of these examples are found in the oldest manuscripts, well imbedded in stories of genuine Irish flavor, that seem to antedate the Viking age, it is possible to make the borrowing theory at all convincing only by the clearest evidence for transmission, especially in view of what we know of the world-wide distribution of the blood-covenant.

Professor Zimmer was, apparently, acquainted with only three examples of Irish blood-brotherhood—two from the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* and one from the *Bóroma*; and in order to support his theory that the Irish did not know the custom before the Viking period, he felt it necessary to explain the covenant in the *Bóroma* as a borrowing. To do this he merely shows that the text in the form preserved belongs to the eleventh or twelfth centuries and contains two Norse loan words.¹ No one denies the lateness of the text, and we have no sufficient evidence for the age of the story itself, which is connected

Lecan facsimile in an unpublished Harvard dissertation by the present writer, *Blood Brotherhood among the Celts* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 70, 71.

Colamcille cecinit dia tudeaid Corbmac cuicee as a tir, ed. and tr. by E. Curry, in W. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (Dublin, 1857), pp. 270-75.

Annals of Ulster, ed. and tr. by W. M. Hennessy, II (Dublin, 1893, 1895, 1901), 354-57. The same incident is recorded in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. and tr. by W. M. Hennessy, I (London, 1871), 480, 481.

Togail Troi, ed. and tr. by W. Stokes, *Irish Texts*, ser. 2, heft 1 (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 19, 83, 84. The *Togail Troi* is a retelling of "Dares Phrygius" (see F. Meister, *Dareti Phrygii de Ezcidio Troiae Historia* [Lipsiae, 1873], p. 13). Since the blood-covenant is an addition made by the Irish writer to his source, it has fully as much value, as evidence for the custom of blood-brotherhood among the Irish, as a blood-covenant recorded in native Irish story.

¹ See Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 308. The *Bóroma* is the story of the collecting of a famous tribute, *bóroma*, which was levied somewhat irregularly between the second and eleventh centuries. Zimmer makes a valuable suggestion in speculating on the original extent of the *Bóroma*, which, in the text he knew, breaks off at a gap in the manuscript with the Irish king who died in 693. It is, of course, probable that the blood-covenant incident was written at the time of the whole story, and thus not until after the year which marks the final limit of the narrative. But, on the other hand, if the narrative ends before the date of the last attempt to levy the *bóroma*, it is probable that the whole story, including the blood-covenant, was written shortly after the date marking the end. The date of the end has fortunately been discovered by W. Stokes (*Revue Celt.*, XIII [1892], 32, 116, 117) who edited the *Bóroma* five years after Zimmer's work and found, by comparing the defective *Book of Leinster* text with a text preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, that the narrative continues for only one leaf beyond the break in the *Book of Leinster*, and carries the history of the *bóroma* only to the last of the seventh century, not to the beginning of the eleventh. And, what is more, the story ends with the remark: "Conad he F. forcenn na Boroma" (So that is the end of the *Boroma*). It is difficult to understand why the writer should have made this remark on ending his story with the incidents of the seventh century (unless it is merely the conventional ending), or why he should have continued his narrative no further, unless he was actually writing the story at the beginning of the eighth century.

with Aed, the Irish high king who died in 594; but it is manifestly unscientific to hold that the presence of two Norse loan words, which have no vital connection with the blood-covenant and could easily have been inserted during transcriptions of the manuscript, *proves* that the blood-covenant described in the story was borrowed. It is still more difficult to believe that the covenants of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* are borrowed, for it is universally conceded that the *Táin* gives us a picture of very early Irish life. Recent archaeological investigation has tended to substantiate the tradition that the *Táin* took shape at about the beginning of the Christian Era.¹ But the original shaping of the material and the casting of it into a definite written form are entirely different matters. The latter problem has been carefully examined by Zimmer,² who concludes that as early as the seventh century (long before the Viking period in Ireland) the *Táin* was written down in practically the form in which it is preserved in the twelfth-century manuscripts. In the transmission of the texts there was, no doubt, opportunity for minor changes to creep in. But *minor changes* could never have transformed an episode containing no blood-brotherhood into the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad story, for the covenant between the two men is the very backbone of the narrative. It is therefore only reasonable to conclude that the blood-brotherhood bond must in all probability have existed in some form in the *Táin* version of the eighth century, before the time of the Viking settlements. But even though the presence in Irish literature of the three covenants known to Zimmer could be explained, there would still remain the five that he did not know, each of which would need to be accounted for by the exponent of the borrowing hypothesis.

We cannot, on the basis of evidence thus far considered, deny the possibility that the early Irish learned the practice of covenanting by blood from the Vikings; but we may, fortunately, go a step farther by making a comparison of Norse and Irish methods of covenanting. If Irish blood-brotherhood is of Norse origin, if it is, as Zimmer says, a blood-brotherhood "im germanischen sinne des wortes,"³ then it should bear a marked resemblance to the type

¹ See W. Ridgeway, "The Date of the First Shaping of the Cuchulainn Saga," *Proc. British Academy*, II (1905-6), 135-68.

² See *Zeit. f. vergleich. Sprachforschung*, XXVIII (1887), 426 ff.; *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 234, 314.

³ See Zimmer, *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 305. C. Andler, (*op. cit.*, pp. 80-83) notes the difference in type between the *Bóroma* blood-covenant and the Scandinavian covenants.

employed by the Vikings. The Norse practice is made clear by a number of examples. All our evidence shows that it was somewhat peculiar in that the blood was never used as a drink, but merely allowed to mingle, either in a footprint or in loose earth under a strip of turf; whereas over the world generally the blood was most frequently drunk by the participants. The Norse custom also laid unusual stress on the obligation of the one brother to revenge the death of the other. All of these features of the Norse custom appear in the history of Saxo Grammaticus (twelfth to thirteenth century), who mentions the mingling of blood in a footprint and speaks of it as a practice of the ancients.¹ Saxo's testimony is well supported by examples from the poems of the *Elder Edda*, which date back, in part at least, to the Viking age, and should thus preserve the very form of blood-brotherhood that the Norse would have used in Ireland. In one of the Eddic poems, the *Loka-Senna*, we find Loki reproaching Woden for lack of hospitality, citing the time when they had mingled their blood together.² And in another Eddic poem, *Brot af Sigorðarkviðo*, appears a blood-covenant of unusual interest, since it is between Sigurd (the German Siegfried) and Gunnar, two of the characters from the *Nibelungen* saga whom Zimmer takes as models for two of the Irish blood-brothers of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* episode we have under consideration. Moreover, the date of the *Brot* is placed about the year 1000,³ just at the time when, according to Zimmer's hypothesis, the *Nibelungen* elements were entering the Irish epic.⁴ If the Irish had borrowed blood-brotherhood along with other elements from the *Nibelungen* saga, they would, in all probability, have used the form of covenant described in the *Brot* as having existed between Sigurd and Gunnar. This covenant was the typical Norse⁵ one in which participants mingled their blood in a footprint, as is made clear by Brynhild's

¹ See *Gesta Danorum*, ed. by A. Holder, I (Strassburg, 1886), 23.

² See B. Sijmons and H. Gering, *Die Lieder der Edda* (Halle, 1906), p. 126:
"Mant[u] þat, Öþenn, es vit í árdaga
blendom blóþi saman?"

³ See F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, I (Copenhagen, 1894-1902), 285.

⁴ See *Zeit. f. d. Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 330.

⁵ By *typical Norse*, as it is used here and below, is meant the well-known Norse type that has been preserved in a considerable number of examples. It is possible, of course, that other forms of covenanting by blood were known to the Vikings, and have not been recorded.

reproof of Gunnar: "Ill, Gunnar! didst thou remember when blood ye in your footsteps both let flow."¹

When we turn from this typical Norse blood-covenant formed by Sigurd and Gunnar to the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad covenant, we find not a notable similarity in method, but a striking difference, for the bond had been formed in the latter instance by the *drinking* of blood:

Woe is me, the friend is fall'n
Whom I pledged in red blood's draught.

That blood-drinking was a significant part of the Irish ceremony we know also from the example found in the *Bóroma* and from the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis and Martin. All the evidence I have been able to secure concerning Irish blood-brotherhood shows that the Irish never allowed the blood to mingle, either in a footprint or in loose earth after the Norse fashion. Nor is there in the Celtic the least trace of the revenge motif so commonly stressed in the Norse. The Celtic methods of forming blood-covenants are very closely paralleled by those found in widely scattered parts of the world, but are notably different from the methods employed among the Norse of the Viking period. The conclusion forced upon us is that, whatever the source of Irish blood-brotherhood may be—if we must look for a source—there is no evidence to show that it was borrowed from the Norse.

Since Zimmer's strongest argument is untenable, and since each of his other arguments is open to grave objections, we are justified in rejecting his hypothesis that the Cuchulainn-Ferdiad episode was re-worked under the influence of the *Nibelungen* saga.

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¹ See B. Thorpe, *The Edda* (London, 1866), p. 87. The text (ed. by B. Sijmons and H. Gering, *op. cit.*, p. 356) is as follows:

"Mantat, Gunnarr, til gorrva þat,
es blóðe í spor báðer rendob."

The Norse method of mingling blood in loose earth while the participants passed under a strip of loose turf is described in *Glæla saga Súrasonar* (ed. by F. Jónsson, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*, X [1903], 13, 14) and in *Þorsteins saga Víkingasonar*, kap. XXI (ed. by V. Asmundarson, *Fornaldarsögur Nordlanda*, Reykjavík, 1885, II). For discussions of Norse blood-brotherhood, see the general references already given and in addition: F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins* (New York, 1892), p. 173; Jakob Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, I (Leipzig, 1848), 136, 137; and *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, I (Leipzig, 1899), 266.

THE MALADY OF CHAUCER'S SUMMONER

Although Chaucer's Summoner appears to stand in no awe of the Archdeacon's curse on account of his spiritual degeneracy, he may well consider consulting a doctor of medicine regarding his aggravated physical disease. All symptoms indicate that he is a dangerously sick man. Says the poet:

A Somnour was ther with us in that place,
That hadde a fyr-reed cherubennes face,
For sawcefleem he was, with eyen narwe.
As hoot he was, and lecherous, as a sparwe;
With scalled browes blake, and piled berd;
Of his visage children were aferd.
Ther nas quik-silver, litarge, ne brimstoon,
Boras, ceruce ne oille of tartre noon;
Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte,
That him mighte helpen of his whelkes whyte,
Nor of the knobbes sittinge on his chekes.
Wel loved he garleek, oynons, and eek lekes,
And for to drinken strong wyn, reed as blood.¹

If one might put faith in the accuracy of Chaucer's description of the case, together with his suggestion of the possible causes and the cure of the ailment, and if a layman might venture upon a diagnosis, by the card, according to the medical lore of the Middle Ages, it would seem that the Summoner is afflicted with a species of morphea known as gutta rosacea, which has already been allowed to develop into that kind of leprosy called alopecia.

He who would seek to unravel the utter confusion of terms applied by the medieval medical writers to different contagious and non-contagious skin diseases sets for himself an impossible task. Each author classifies and reclassifies, divides once and again, to suit his own pleasure, until we can scarcely distinguish psora from leuce, albaras from melos, or impetigo from morphea. Lanfrank

¹ *The Oxford Chaucer*, ed. Skeat, *Canterbury Tales*, A, 623 ff.
[MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1922]

indeed attempts to bring order out of chaos,¹ but his conclusions are far from satisfactory. In spite of differences of opinion, however, I gather that morphea—by whatever name it may be designated—is a skin disease resulting from the presence of certain impurities in the blood, and that there are four species of it corresponding to the four natural humors of the body. That “cursed monk dan Constantyn,” whose work Chaucer must have known,² says:

Morphea est corruptio sanguinis, unde nutritur cutis corporis, siue macula intercutaneae carnis. Cuius causa universalis defectio est digestiuae uirtutis. Que cum defecerit, sanguinem corrumpit, qui ad cutem ueniens eam nutrit. Si autem phlegmatica sit eius, alba fit morphea. Si cholera, nigra erit morphea. Est autem morphea triplex, uel enim liuidi coloris, nascens de materia cholericæ & sanguineæ, uel nigra nascens de sanguine melancholico, uel alba, & est de phlegmate salso. In quibus tribus generibus non sanguis est minuendus, se oportet forti medicamine purgetur.³

Gilbertus Anglicus—Chaucer’s “Gilbertyn” (*C.T.*, A, 434)—is a little more definite in his discussion “De morphea”:

Causæ autem antecedentes sunt iiii humores. Et que fit ex sanguine propinquior est ad lepram. Unusquisque humor proprium dat colorem cuti. et que est de sanguine est rubei coloris. et que est de colere est citrini coloris et que de salso flegme est flauī coloris. et que de flegme naturali est albi coloris. et que de melancolia est nigri coloris.⁴

Now, I suspect that this type of morphea which is produced *ex sanguine* and which colors the face a livid red is none other than the gutta rosacea of various authors. Bartholomæus de Glanvilla suggests as much:

Morphea is speckes in ye skin, and commeth of corruption of meat and drink. And yt which is leper in ye flesh, is Morphea in ye skin. Also

¹ Lanfrank’s *Science of Chirurgie*, EETS.O.S., 102, pp. 193 ff. (Cf. also *Cirurgia parua Lanfranci*, Venetis, 1499, f. 182.) Guy de Chauliac seems to be impatient with the classification of skin diseases attempted by his fraternal enemy; see *La Grande Chirurgie*, Gvy de Chavillac, ed. Nicalse, Paris, 1890, p. 413, or *Cyrrurgia Guidonis de Cauliaco*, Venetis, 1499, f. 51, r. 1. For further discussion of terminology among the Greeks, Arabians, Romans, and others, see *Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, trans. Francis Adams, II, 1–35 *passim*, and Commentaries to sections 1 and 2 of Book IV; J. H. Baas, *The History of Medicine*, pp. 313–15.

² This is Constantinus Africanus of Carthage (1015–87) mentioned by Chaucer in his list of celebrated physicians (*C.T.*, A, 433) and also in connection with a work called *De coitu* (*C.T.*, E, 1807–11). The curious reader may verify Chaucer’s reference to the *De coitu* by consulting Constantinus’ *Opera, conquisita undique magno studio jam primum typis euulgata*, Basileae, 1536, pp. 306 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, Lib. VII, cap. xviii, p. 161.

⁴ Gilbert Anglicus, *Compendium medicine*, Lugduni, 1510, f. clxx, v₁. For a discussion of Gilbert’s life, see Handerson’s *Gilbertus Anglicus, Medicine of the Thirteenth Century*.

Morphea is white, and commeth of fleme, and some is black, and commeth of Melancholia, and some is red and commeth of Cholera or of bloud. The Morphea yt commeth of Melancholia and of fleme, is hard to heale; and ye Morphea yt commeth of bloud is more easie to heale. Morphea is incurable, if the skin of the face be pight and pricked with a needell and bleedeth not, and if it bleedeth then it is curable. And Morphea is all in the skinne, and Lepra is both in the flesh & in the skinne. This infection differeth but little from the infection that is called *Gutta rosea*, that infecteth the face with small and soft pimples, and commeth of gleamie, bloudye, and cholarike humours that bee betweene the skinne and the flesh.¹

And Bernardus de Gordon, whose account of morphea is similar to that of Bartholomew, leaves no doubt of the matter: "si sit de sanguine et sit in facie appellabitur *guttarosacea*. . . . Si color fuerit rubeus fuscus maculosus, tunc est de sanguine."² Chaucer's Summoner, who has such a "fyr-reed cherubennes face" that children are afraid of him, appears to have been suffering at first merely from *gutta rosacea*, a skin disease better known to the early English authors as "sawcefleem."

Still further and more detailed descriptions of this malady, together with causes and remedies for effecting a cure, may be found in almost every medical work of any importance dating from Chaucer's time. Lanfrank says:

Gutta rosacea, þat is a passioun þat turneþ þe skyn of a mannys face out of his propur colour & makip þe face reed. & þis passioun comeþ of humouris brent & abidiþ in þe skyn, & herfore is a good purgacioun þat purgiþ salt humours.³

Andrew Boorde, in a discussion of a "Sauceflewme Face" found in his *Dietary*, remarks:

Gutta rosacea be the latin wordes. In Englyshe it is named a sauce fleume face, which is rednes about the nose and the chekes, with small pypmles; it is a preuye signe of leprousnes. . . . This impedymment doth come of euyl dyet, and a hote lyuer, or disorderynge of a mans complexion in his youth, late drynkynge, and great surfetyng.⁴

¹ *Batman vpon Bartholme*, London, 1582, pp. 114 ff. This is an English translation, made in 1397, of Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla's *De proprietatibus rerum*, composed in 1366; see the Basil edition of 1475, p. 63, for the foregoing passage. And for a discussion of the author, see Se Boyar's article in *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XIX, 168 ff.

² Bernardus de Gordon, *Practica dicta Lilium medicinae*, Lyons, 1491, sig. ds, vs. This is Chaucer's "Bernard" (*C.T.*, A, 434), concerning whom see Hinckley's *Notes on Chaucer*, p. 35.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁴ Andrew Boorde's *Introduction and Dietary*, ed. Furnivall, EETS.E.S., 10, pp. 101-2.

And a still fuller account is given by the later writers, Willan and Thomas Bateman, under the head of *Acne rosacea*, to which is appended the note, "This is the *gutta rosea*, or *rosacea*, of authors":

This form of *Acne* differs in several respects from the preceding species.¹ In addition to an eruption of small suppurating tubercles, there is also a shining redness, and an irregular granulated appearance of the skin of that part of the face which is affected. The redness commonly appears first at the end of the nose, and afterwards spreads from both sides of the nose to the cheeks, the whole of which, however, it seldom covers. In the commencement it is not uniformly vivid; but is paler in the morning, and readily increased to an intense red after dinner, or at any time if a glass of wine or spirits be taken. . . . This species of *Acne* seldom occurs in early life . . . ; in general it does not appear before the age of forty; but it may be produced in any person by the constant immoderate use of wine and spiritous liquors. The greater part of the face, even the forehead and the chin, are often affected in these cases; but the nose especially becomes tumid, and of a fiery red colour. . . . At this period of life, too, the colour of *Acne rosacea* becomes darker and more livid; and if suppuration take place in any of the tubercles, they ulcerate unfavorably, and do not readily assume a healing disposition.²

This is a rather accurate description, I take it, of the Summoner's appearance in the earlier stages of his disease; but not even the most violent *gutta rosacea* can account for his "scalled browes blake and piled berd," nor for his "narwe" eyes, nor for the "whelkes whyte" and the "knobbes" sitting on his cheeks. Evidently the "sawcefleem" has already developed, in the opinion of Chaucer,³ into that type of leprosy which also comes *ex sanguine*.

In all the works of medical writers from the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Arabians on down to the authors who may be said to have laid the foundations of modern medicine, the general signs of

¹ Willan and T. Bateman, *A Practical Synopsis of Cutaneous Diseases*, Philadelphia, 1818. The other species are *Acne simplex* (p. 285), *Acne punctata* (p. 291), *Acne indurata* (p. 292), which, with *Acne rosacea*, correspond to the four species of morphea, I suppose. For a further division of the "genus *gutta rosea*" into three species, see Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia*, Boston, 1809, Class II, 1, 4, 6; IV, 1, 2, 13, 14.

² Willan and T. Bateman, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-99.

³ There is, of course, actually no relation between any of these skin diseases and leprosy proper; Chaucer is merely following the medical opinion of his time. Cf. Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 101; *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 63; Bateman, *op. cit.*, p. 294, note; *Cyrrergia Rogerii*, Venetis, 1499, f. 225—or any history of medicine.

elephantiasis or leprosy are found to be about the same.¹ Bernardus de Gordon, no doubt following the earlier writers, says:

Signa infallibilia sunt ista: Depilatio superciliorum et grossisies eorum, rotunditas oculorum, dilatio narium exterius; et coartatio interius. cum difficultate anhelitus; et quasi si cum naribus loqueretur, et facie lucidus vergens ad fuscenedinem mortificatam, et terribilis aspectus faciei cum fixo intuitu. . . . Signa occulta . . . in principio sunt ista: color faciei rubens vergens ad nigredinem et incipit anhelitus immutari, et vox aliquo modo raucescit, etc.²

Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla agrees:

Caro in eis notabiliter est corrupta, oculi et palpebre corrugantur, aspectum habent scintillantem maxime in leonina; angustiantur nares et contrahuntur; vox rauca efficitur.³

And John of Gaddesden—Chaucer's "Gatesden" (*C.T.*, A, 434)—definitely associates the general signs with *gutta rosacea*:

In the first place you must note if the usual red color of the face tends toward a black hue, and if the patient suffers from *gutta rosacea* in his nose or face . . . if he sweats much and his hair begins to get thin and sparse. . . . The color of the body tends towards black, laboured breathing and a husky voice (*strictura anhelitus et vocis*) . . . a nasal tone of voice, thinness and falling of the hair . . . *rotunditas* of the eyes, a greasiness of the skin, etc.⁴

Even the general signs of elephantiasis agree, it will be observed, with the physiognomical characteristics which Chaucer has attributed to his Summoner.

It must be observed, however, that the earlier of our modern writers on the science of medicine describe the elephantiasis of the Greeks as a species merely of lepra, of which they present four kinds; namely, the elephantia, leonina, alopecia, and tyria, each being associated with one of the various humors of the blood. This

¹ See *Seven Books*, trans. Adams; Actuarius, II, 11; Avicenna (Chaucer's "Avicen," *C.T.*, A, 432), II, 12; Serapion (Chaucer's "Serapion," A, 432), II, 13. Cf. Haly filius Abbas, *Liber totius medicine*, Lyons, 1523, Lib. VIII, cap. xv.

² *Op. cit.*, cap. xxii.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴ Ioannes de Gadesden, *Rosa Anglica practica medicinae*, Pavia, 1492, car. 56, r₁. I quote from a translation of this passage found in Cholmeley's *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae*, pp. 45-46.

arrangement dates first from Alsaharavius.¹ For example, as Bartholomaeus has it:

In foure manner wise Lepra is diuerse, as the foure humours be passingly and diuersely medled. One manner Lepra commeth of pure Melancholia, and is called *Elephancia*, & hath that name of the Elephant, that is a full great beast and large. For this euill griueth & noieth the patient passing strongly and sore. Therefore this euill is more harde and fast, and worse to heale then other. The second commeth of melancholy and of fleme, and is called *Tiria*, or *Serpintina*; and hath yt name of an adder that is called *Tirus*. For as an Adder leaueth lightlye his skin and his scale, so he that hath this manner Lepra is oft stript and pilled and full of scales. The third manner of Lepra commeth of melancholy, infecting of bloud, and is called *Alopicia*, and *Vulpina*. . . . The Foxe hath a propertie, that his haire falleth in Summer for heat of bloud in the liuer; so oft his haire that hath this euill falleth from the browes, and from other places. The fourth manner Leperhood commeth of red Cholera, corrupt in the members with melancholy, and is called *Leonina*.²

Now, in our discussion of the Summoner we are evidently concerned only with the third species, alopecia, which is a disease of the flesh growing out of an infection of the blood, just as we found gutta rosacea to be that kind of morphea which develops *ex sanguine*. Arnoldus de Villanova—Chaucer's "Arnold of the Newe Toun" (*C.T.*, G, 1428)—describes it at considerable length:

*Allopecia est species lepre, que sit ex sanguine adjusto. et in ista specie toto depillantur supercilia et barba. Et propter hoc dicitur alopecia ab alopibus, id est, uulpibus. depillantur enim in modum uulpium; oculi eorum inflantur, et uehementer rubent. pustule in facie rubee et quinque in toto corpore oriuntur; a quibus manat sanies cum sanguine mixta apparent vene in pectore et odor eorum et sudor et anhelitus fetet et difficulter odorant; nasus infrossatur; et gene tument, etc.*³

Gilbertus Anglicus, after giving a like account of the origin of the name and of the cause of the malady—"sit autem ex sanguine corrupto et superabundante . . . et negligentia diete et flommie"—continues:

Et eius facilis mutatio in pallorem et remissio in ruborem. fiunt autem macule rubore flauae flegmaticae exterius et sponte recedunt. et facile ac sepe

¹ See Baas, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Adams, *Seven Books*, II, 14.

² *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 113. Cf. Arnoldus de Villanova, *Practica medicina*, Venezia, 1494, f. 8₁, v₁.

³ *Op. cit.*, f. 8₁, v₁.

morphea rufa. et rubores vlcerosi plurimi . . . vene oculorum semper fere rubore profundantur; et oculi semper fluidi et lacrimantur et supercilia et cilia depilantur et palpebre inversantur et ingrossantur . . . supercilia comprimuntur. corpus et facies quinque rubeis maculis et pustulis diffunduntur cutis et caro nimis mollis quasi semper subluclida aliqua ventuositate perlinita.¹

Surely when one looks closely at the Summoner there can be no doubt that he is afflicted with alopecia. The pimples which might once have indicated gutta rosacea have developed into great pustules—"whelkes whyte" and "knobbes"—of true leprosy. His eyebrows have nearly all fallen out,² and in place of them there is a scabby, scurfy mark of a black color; his beard, too, has the scall to such an extent that it is thin and slight. The patient's eyes are swollen and inflamed to a violent red, and the lids, already deprived of lashes, are enlarged and corrugated so that he is able to see only through narrow slits between them. His eyes, as Chaucer says, are "narwe." No wonder that children are afraid of his "visage"! And if one might interpret, in the light of the foregoing material, the "stif burdoun" which he bears to the Pardoner's little love song (*C.T.*, A, 673) and his crying out as if he were mad after a drink of blood-red wine, his voice has possibly that rough and husky quality spoken of by the medical men as an infallible sign of a leper.

Chaucer has indicated, moreover, the two principal causes of the disease: the Summoner is "lecherous as a sparwe," and is accustomed to the eating of onions, garlic, and leeks and to the drinking of strong wine red as blood. The rascal is either criminally ignorant or foolishly indifferent; he might have learned from any physician of his time, or before, that lepra may be contracted by illicit association with women affected by it,³ that garlic, onions, and leeks produce evil humors in the blood, and that red wine, of

¹ *Op. cit.*, f. cexl. vi.

² It is interesting to note that the physiognomists also associate this sign with leprosy: "Supercilia plane depilla, Luem Veneream Leprem, vel aliam sanguinis corruptionem indicant," Rudolphus Goclenius, *Physiognomica et Chiromantica Specialia*, Hamburgi, 1661, p. 60; cf. Samuelis Fuchsii Cyslino Pomerani, *Metoposcopia & Ophthalmoscopia*, Argentinae, 1615, p. 91.

³ For example see Gaddesden's chapter "De infectione ex coitu leprosi," *op. cit.*, car. 61, r. 2. Leprosy and syphilis are possibly confused.

all others, is the most powerful and heating of drinks. Bartholomaeus, for example, in his discussion of leprosy says:

Also it commeth of fleshlye lyking, by a woman soone after that a leprous man hath laye by her. . . . And sometime it cometh of too hot meates, as long use of strong pepper, and of garlike, and of such other. And sometime of corrupt meates, and of meates that be soone corrupt, as of meselyd Hogges, of flesh that haue peeces therein, and is infected with such poison and greines. And of uncleane wine and corrupt.¹

He might have found by consulting the *Isogoge* of Joannitius that

Certain kinds of vegetables produce evil humours; for instance, nasturtium, mustard, and garlic beget reddish bile. Lentils, cabbage, and the meat of old goats or beeves produce black bile.²

Paulus might have informed him that

The onion, garlic, leek and dog-leek . . . , being of an acrid nature, warm the body, attenuate and cut the thick humors contained in it; when twice boiled, they give little nourishment, and when unboiled they do not nourish at all. The garlic is more deobstruent and diaphoretic than the others. . . . Regarding pot-herbs in general, the raw, when eaten, furnish worse juices than the boiled, as they have more excrementitious juice.³

Boorde further adds that "Onyons doth prouoke a man to veneryous actes and to sompnolence,"⁴ and pronounces a particular warning: "He that is infectyd wyth any of the .IIII. kynds of the lepered must refrayne from al maner of wyne, & from new drynkes, and stronge ale; then let hym beware of ryot and surfetyng."⁵ For, as Bartholomaeus puts it, "Red wine that is full redde as bloud is most strong, and griueth much the head, and noieth the wit, and maketh strong dronkenness,"⁶ or according to Paulus, "Wine in general is nutritious but that which is red and thick is more particularly so; but its juices are not good."⁷ The Summoner, however, has either not read or has treated with contempt the medical authorities; having once contracted the disease by riotous and lascivious living and by the immoderate use of unwholesome meats and wines, he further aggravates it by the same foolhardy practices.

¹ *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 113b.

² *The Isogoge*, by Joannitius (Arabic, Hunain), trans. Cholmeley, *op. cit.*, App. D, p. 145.

³ Adams, *Seven Books*, I, 117, 118.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 279, 351. Cf. *The Babees Book*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 156, 214.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁶ *Batman vpon Bartholome*, p. 330.

⁷ Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 172, 174.

Finally, it must be observed that Chaucer has apparently lifted the remedies, which he suggests have already been used in this case without effect, directly from the medical books.

Ther nas quik-silver, litarge, ne brimstoon,
 Boras, ceruce, ne oille of tartre noon,
 Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte,
 That him mighte helpen of his whelkes whyte.

Lanfrank's prescription for the cure of gutta rosacea includes "litar-giri, auripigmenti, sulphuris viui, viridis eris oleum tartarini argenti viui,"¹ and Guy de Chauliac would treat the same disease with "aigre de citron, ceruse, argent vif, borax, souldphre et alum, avec huil de tartre."² For the more violent cases of skin disorders and for leprosy, Guy recommends the careful and judicious use of "le medicament corrosif" or perhaps of "le medicament caustique"³—to which Chaucer clearly refers when he speaks of "oynement that wolde clense and byte."

From the material presented in this paper it appears that Chaucer's knowledge of medicine was more thorough and accurate than was once supposed.⁴ Indeed we may safely conclude, it seems to me, that, since he mentions them more or less familiarly, he was intimately acquainted with the works—at least with those parts relating to lepra—of Gilbertus Anglicus, Ioannes de Gaddesden, Constantinus Africanus, Bernardus de Gordon, and Arnoldus de Villanova, and perhaps with the writings of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Lanfrank. But what interests me especially is his scientific method of employing medical material, this time, for the construction of character. I have elsewhere shown the practical working of the method in several cases: the Pardoner⁵ together with the Reve and the Miller⁶ are created, both body and mind, according to certain

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 190, and notes.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 459.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 631, 633. Cf. Lanfrank's "Of medecyns cauteratiuis & corrosiuis," *op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff. The chief ingredient of these ointments is arsenic. Chaucer is to be highly commended for his wisdom in ignoring the empirical remedy composed largely of an adder, which most of the medical men employ. See Lanfrank, p. 198.

⁴ See Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 392. But cf. Lowes, *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 391 ff.; Emerson, *ibid.*, XVII, 287; Cook, *Trans. Conn. Arts and Sciences*, XXIII, 27, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 379; Curry, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 274.

⁵ "The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner," *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XVIII, 593 ff.

⁶ "Chaucer's Reeve and Miller," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXV, 189 ff.

rules and regulations laid down in the "science" of natural physiognomy; and the Wife of Bath¹ is a living embodiment, both in person and character, of rigid laws of natural astrology and celestial physiognomy. In the Summoner's case, Chaucer the scientist has first created, according to the best medical authority of his time, a perfect figure representing that type of leprosy called alopecia, and Chaucer the poet has breathed into it the breath of life.

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¹ "More about Chaucer's Wife of Bath," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI.

SPENSER IN IRELAND

I. INTRODUCTORY

Most of the biographers of Spenser have utilized mainly the biographical material in the poet's own writings. This is quite right and natural, as this sort of material in itself is of more interest and profit for the study of a great poet than is any other and extraneous material. Sélincourt in the short life prefixed to his one-volume Oxford edition of Spenser has utilized this material with great skill, and one agrees with him that much of Spenser's verse is highly autobiographical and abounds in self-revelation, however guarded and veiled. But a fascination in the case of Spenser attaches to the strange contrast in his nature between Spenser the idealist and the man of poetic sensibility, and Spenser the man of affairs and servant of the state.¹ By reason of this contrast it is even more interesting to study the career of Spenser as an office-holder than it is to study that of Chaucer.

For the study of this career we have certain records and data, although for less than we would wish, and recent important discoveries² lead to the hope that others may yet follow. The Irish records especially have been very imperfectly searched, and the better part of Spenser's active life was connected with Ireland. Moreover such records as have been calendared or noticed have been very slightly studied and interpreted. It is true that, like many other data in Spenser's biography, they abound in difficulties. All the more reason therefore why attention should be directed to them and discussion of them invited. For it is only by the method of trial and error that the way can be prepared for the as yet unwritten life of Spenser in Ireland. Accordingly what is here submitted is rather in the nature of notes and queries than of definite thesis.

¹ Shall we say (for a comprehensive category) therefore a typical Elizabethan and man of the Renaissance?

² Notably that in regard to Spenser's secretaryship to the Bishop of Rochester in 1578.

II. EDMUND SPENSER "PREBENDARY OF EFFIN"

Duly indexed under the name of Edmund Spenser in the *Calendars of State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1586-1588* (London, 1877), at page 222 under date of December 5, 1586, appears the following entry: "Collection of the arrearages of first fruits. These contain the names of many of the clergy of the time, amongst others . . . Edmondus Spenser, prebendary of Effin." The passage in the original at the Public Record Office, London, reads as follows:¹

No. 18. A Booke of the proceedings againste the clergy of Ireland vpon certen informacions in the eschequor there. P. 698. Brevis collectio quorundam arrearagiorum primorum fructuum . . . debit ex deversis Dignitat ac promociionibus spiritualibus infrascript. . . . P. 716. Limericen. Edmondus Spenser preb. de Effin iijli.

So far as I know this entry has not been mentioned by any of the writers upon Spenser since its appearance in 1877. It is true that it at once suggests difficulties. Spenser the poet is not otherwise known to have held clerical office; it is altogether improbable that he was ever ordained;² and at first sight it seems strange that his name should be associated with the obscure parish of Effin in 1586. Nevertheless I think that there is considerable probability that we are here dealing with Edmund Spenser the poet, and that we have here a new fact in Spenser's life.

In the first place, no evidence has ever been adduced of the presence of another Edmund Spenser in Ireland at this period. The burden of proof is therefore on those who would deny the face of the record and its application to the poet. How then are we to account for Spenser's holding the office of a prebend, and at Effin, and in 1586?

Spenser was doubtless a layman, but if by exception and for special reasons a layman were to be admitted to clerical office, no one in his time was better qualified to be so admitted than Spenser. He was a master of arts of Cambridge and as such had doubtless

¹ Transcript supplied by Mr. Henry R. Plomer.

² Cf. *View of Ireland* (Globe ed. of Spenser, p. 645): "*Irenaeus*: Little have I to say of religion . . . myself have not bene much conversante in that calling." We are probably safe in applying the statement to Spenser. *Irenaeus* is pretty consistently his mouthpiece. Cf. p. 679: "For religion little have I to saye, myself being (as I sayd) not professed therein."

received a large measure of religious training.¹ During his college years and those immediately following he was deeply interested in church affairs and in matters of ecclesiastical polity—an interest which is reflected at large in the *Shepherds' Calendar* of 1579.² Later in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* and in others of his writings³ the same preoccupation appears. In 1578 he was secretary to the Bishop of Rochester, a position which must have kept him in daily contact and concern with persons and matters of the church. A few years later (March, 1581) while still secretary to Lord Grey in Ireland he was appointed registrar or clerk in Chancery for Faculties,⁴ an office whose duties were concerned with the registration of "faculties" or special ecclesiastical licenses issued by the Archbishop of Dublin or other properly constituted authorities, and therefore involving close association with people and affairs of the church.

Now another point which is clear is that during the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth certain benefices, and especially prebends, were held by laymen.⁵ In the case of *Bland v. Maddox*

¹ Cf. H. W. Cripps, *A Practical Treatise on the Laws of the Church and the Clergy*, London, 1845, p. 11: "No bishop shall admit any person to sacred orders except he hath taken some degree of school in either of the two universities." Thus far Spenser seems to have qualified.

² J. J. Higginson, *Spenser's Shepherds' Calendar in Relation to Contemporary Affairs*, New York, 1913, *passim*.

³ C. H. Whitman, *Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, New Haven, 1918. See references at pp. 52-53 for passages showing Spenser's familiarity with church affairs.

⁴ *Calendar of Faints, Elizabeth* (Reports of the Deputy Keeper, Dublin, 1896 ff.), No. 3694. Cf. Harleian MSS 4107; *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, Part II, p. 29 (gives the date, probably by error or following Old Style, as March 22, 1580).

⁵ Cf. *New English Dictionary*, "Prebendary": "In some chapters of the Old Foundation the name *prebendary* (with a territorial addition) is retained for the titular holder of a disendowed prebend." Perhaps not applicable in this case. Effin was probably not disendowed and Spenser's appointment to the prebend there was perhaps of the nature of a sinecure. Cf. W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, London, 1904, p. 193: Grindal's reforms in ecclesiastical law (1576) still permitted dispensations "for laymen to hold some benefices without cure of souls," and "for clergy to be non-resident." These regulations were sent to Ireland "for the guidance of the Master of Faculties there."

Cf. E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and Their People*, London, 1898, p. 350: "A prebend was sometimes a manor, more frequently a rectory, rarely a sum of money, which formed an endowment for a canon." Cf. H. W. Cripps, *A Practical Treatise of the Laws of the Church and the Clergy*, London, 1845, p. 120 (on prebends). The act of 31 Eliz. against Abuses in . . . Presentation to Benefices was not passed until 1588. Cf. E. Gibson, *Codez juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, London, 1713, p. 198. Cf. Richard Burn, *The Ecclesiastical Law*, 9th edition, ed. R. Phillimore, London, 1842, II, 87-92, on "Prebends and Prebendaries": "A prebend is an endowment in land or pension in money given to a cathedral . . . for a maintenance of a secular priest or regular canon. Formerly a

in the time of Elizabeth the Court ruled that a layman might take title to a prebend (reference to Burn's *The Ecclesiastical Law*, below), and the practice was far from uncommon. It is true that *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (ll. 414 ff.) sharply satirizes unqualified and incompetent aspirants after clerical benefices:

How manie honest men see ye arize
Daylie thereby, and grow to goodly prize;
To Deanes, to Archdeacons; to Commissaries,
To Lords, to Principalls, to Prebendaries?

But would Spenser, although a layman, be regarded as unqualified in the opinion of his time and in his own opinion?

Moreover in Spenser's day there were special circumstances which might seem to justify such tenures. The state of the lower clergy in Ireland was deplorable and evidently the English governors were hard put to it to supply, and that rarely, decent incumbents. Spenser's own testimony is very much to the point and may be held to bear indirectly upon such cases as the appointment of the prebendary of Effin. In the *View of Ireland*¹ Irenaeus says:

What ever disorder you see in the Church of England ye may find there [in Ireland], and many more . . . for all the Irish priestes which nowe enjoye the churche livinges there, are in a manner meere laymen. They neither reade scriptures, nor preache to the people, nor minister the sacrament of the communion. . . . There is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have bene grounded upon a good meaning—that whatsoever Englishman, being of good conversation and sufficiency, shal be brought unto any of the bishoppes, and nominated into any living within theyr dioces that is presently voyde that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted therunto before any Irish. . . . There are noe such sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to any bishopp for any living, but the most parte of such English as come over thither of themselves are either unlearned, or men of some badd note, for which they have forsaken England.

layman . . . might have taken title to a prebend." Cf. p. 275 on "First Fruits." Cf. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, II, 336, 504.

A letter of Mr. J. C. Ayer, of Philadelphia, learned in the canon law, kindly communicated by the Rev. Henry B. Washburn, dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, reviews the practice in England and abroad and cites the case of Calvin "who had a prebend when he went to Paris to study and later received a second. The law of England was the same as everywhere in such matters."

¹ Globe ed. of Spenser, pp. 646-47. Cf. W. D. Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, London, 1875, I, 466-69.

Possibly a passage which follows reflects Spenser's own experience:

And yf he [the Bishop] shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom he will not displease, accept of any such minister as shal be tendred unto him, yet he will underhand carrie such a hard hande over him, or by his officers wringe him so sore, as he will soone make him wearye of his poore living [and see the rest of the passage for its possible autobiographical bearing].

Did Spenser although a layman try to administer some of the duties of the office of the prebendary of Effin? We do not know. It is likely enough that he was non-resident and had received the position as a mere sinecure and so regarded it, even finding its revenues so small that he was forced to default in the payment of first fruits,¹ as at other times he defaulted in the payment of rents. On the other hand, it is possible that as a sufficient and learned layman he attempted to administer such offices as he might to the poor parishioners of Effin. Effin is a small parish near Kilmallock in County Limerick and less than twenty miles north from Kilcolman (Doneraile). A prebendary attached to the chapter of Limerick had been located there from ancient times.²

We do not know enough about Spenser's life in 1585-86 to pronounce whether he may have been resident at Effin, at least for part of the time, during that period. His interests and duties during the first decade of his Irish sojourn were taking him to various parts of the island—Dublin, Limerick, Cork, New Abbey, Enniscorthy, and many other places—and it is possible that Effin was one of his temporary abiding-places, whence in 1586 he flitted to Kilcolman, the estate which was probably assured him in that year as one of the

¹ First fruits were due "before any actual or real possession . . . of his benefice" (Burn, *Eccles. Law*, II, 276. Cf. Cripps, *Laws Rel. to the Church*, p. 365). We may therefore conjecture that Spenser's appointment as prebendary of Effin did not long precede December 5, 1586.

² Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part V, pp. 94, 207. Cf. P. Fitzgerald and J. J. McGregor, *History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Limerick*, Dublin, 1826-27, I, 391: "Effin, west of Ballingaddy, is a rectory and vicarage in the diocese of Limerick, and contains 1052 acres." Cf. William W. Seward, *Topographia Hibernica*, Dublin, 1795, Appendix, p. 21, under "Diocesis Limericensis" ("Taxatio & Extenta . . . 2 Oct. 5 mo. Car. I . . . Praeb. de Effyn 3L0.0"). Cf. Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1837, I, 596: "Effin a parish in co. Limerick near Kilmallock." "It is a rectory and vicarage in the diocese of Limerick, constituting the corps of the prebend of Effin in the cathedral of Limerick." cf. *Calendar, Ireland, 1600*, p. 242.

participants in the project of the Munster undertakers.¹ But the circumstances of Spenser's tenure of the prebend of Effin probably must remain a matter of conjecture.

III. EDMUND SPENSER "OF NEW ABBEY"

Most of the details of Spenser's life in Ireland remain obscure. A few salient facts in regard to him are to be found in the public records. From these we have points of departure and a certain amount of orientation. But the rest is matter of conjecture and inference, helped in only small measure by reference to places and persons in his own writings, especially the *View of Ireland* and the *Faerie Queene*.

The period from September, 1582, when Lord Grey returned to England and Spenser's secretaryship ceased, until 1588 when we are pretty sure that he was in possession of Kilcolman, is especially obscure. What were Spenser's occupations, other than poetry-making, and where did he reside, during this time? What was his means of livelihood,² and who were his patrons and associates?

Doubtless through Grey's patronage he had been assisted to various good things before the former's return to England. The clerkship of the Chancery for Faculties he probably held till 1588.³ Profit doubtless came from the lease of Enniscorthy in 1582 and its conveyance by Spenser to Richard Synot, and from other similar transactions. Such a transaction may have been the lease for six years of the Dublin residence of the rebel Viscount Baltinglas (James Eustace) to Spenser in 1582. This lease usually has been cited as proof of Spenser's residence in Dublin 1582-88. But we do not know that he even occupied the premises; the town residence of a nobleman was probably too expensive an establishment to be maintained by one in the poet's circumstances, especially after the loss of his secretaryship, and it is more likely that the lease was soon

¹ Or it may be that he was resident at Kilcolman as early as the winter of 1585-86 and thence made occasional trips to Effin (a place within easy riding distance).

² The pension did not come till 1590.

³ Appointed at Grey's instance? ("Given free from the Seale in respect he ys Secretarie to the right honorable the Lord Deputie.") But whether he exercised the office in person ("a deputy allowed") and what were its fees in net yearly revenue to him we do not know.

disposed of at a profit.¹ Spenser was probably in Dublin from time to time after 1582² and may have maintained a residence there, but there is no sure proof of this.

But there is one inference from the records which has been briefly noticed by the authors of the life of the poet in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (p. 797) and which deserves more prominent treatment in the future biography of Spenser. In 1583-84, probably from the latter part of 1582 also, and possibly for some time after 1584, Spenser was principally resident at New Abbey, county Kildare. The lease of this estate, "with an old waste town adjoining, and its appurtenances," he received August 24, 1582.³ This was another of the forfeited estates of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas.⁴ The lease was for twenty-one years, and the rent three pounds. There is no record when Spenser disposed of this lease, if at all during his lifetime, but the fact of his residence is pretty well established by two references to Edmund Spenser as "of New Abbey," in 1583 and 1584, further corroborated by the fact of his appointment May 12, 1583, and July 4, 1584, as one of the commissioners of musters in county Kildare.⁵ We have many studies of Spenser's later residence, Kilcolman, but we lack information as to this earlier residence of New Abbey, although Falkiner⁶ tells us that it was on the river Liffey (the Liffey of *Faerie Queene*, IV, xi, 41), and within riding distance of Dublin.

¹ There is no record of its conveyance by Spenser, but the extant Irish records are notoriously defective.

² The sonnet to Harvey is dated from Dublin, July 18, 1586.

³ *Calendar of Fiants, Elizabeth*, No. 3969. In 1582 also Spenser received a "custodiam" of Eustace's land of the Newland (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 345).

⁴ The formal attainder of Eustace was not passed until 1585. Apparently his estates were seized and distributed soon after his flight to Spain in 1581. Grosart (ed. of Spenser, I, 147) states that this lease was forfeited for non-payment of rent for seven years and a half. I have not been able to verify this statement. If Spenser held on to it for seven and one-half years its termination would date in 1590.

⁵ *Calendar of Fiants, Elizabeth*, Nos. 4150, 4464. Notice that in most of these references to the poet in Ireland he is spoken of as Edmund Spenser, "gentleman," a descriptive epithet never attached to his name before his Irish residence. Here he was one of the gentry, a dignity enhanced a little later by his receipt of the "seignory" of Kilcolman. Cf. James F. Ferguson in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1855, II, 605-9: That the lease of New Abbey was forfeited August 24, 1582. But this was the date of the lease, cf. *Calendar of Fiants*, No. 3969.

⁶ *Essays relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, p. 14. Cf. Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London, 1837, II, 84: "Some remains of the buildings of New Abbey, on the banks of the Liffey, are still to be seen."

IV. SPENSER "CLERK OF DECREES AND RECOGNIZANCES"

That Spenser held the office of Clerk of Decrees and Recognizances in Ireland is a statement which goes back to Hardiman¹ and which seems to have been repeated by most of Spenser's biographers since,² solely on Hardiman's authority and without further examination and verification. There may exist original evidence for this statement, although I have not been able to trace it in the printed sources accessible to me. Hardiman's brief footnote life of Spenser merely puts forth the general claim of being based on "original documents." No specific citation of record is given for this statement. It therefore remains to be proved. Grosart³ in substantiation refers to "*Liber Hiberniae*." But the *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* ("By Command, 1824"), if this be Grosart's reference, as I take it to be, so far as I can discover does not bear out the statement. The list of "Principal Registers and Clerks of the Acts and Recognizances" (for ecclesiastical causes)⁴ does not contain Spenser's name. The list of "Clerks of the Decrees and Recognizances"⁵ gives the incumbents only from 1605, and naturally Spenser's name does not appear. The inference is that the office was not instituted before 1605.⁶ Hardiman, after stating that Grey was sworn as Lord Deputy, September 7, 1580, goes on to say: "On the 22nd of March following, Spenser was appointed clerk of the decrees and recognizances of chancery, and his patent was given 'free from the seal in respect he is secretary to the Right Honorable the Lord D.,' " and that he was succeeded in this office June 22, 1588, by Arland Ussher. Now it is a suspicious fact that Spenser was granted the office of "registrars or clerk in Chancery for faculties" March 22, 1581, that the phrase "given free from the Seale in respect he ys Secretarie to the right honorable the Lord Deputie" does appear in this grant,⁷ and that he was succeeded in this office June 22, 1588, by Arland Ussher.⁸

¹ *Irish Minstrelsy*, London, 1831, I, 319 (note) ff.

² Collier, Grosart, *Dictionary of National Biography*, etc.

³ Grosart's ed. of Spenser, I, 150.

⁴ *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 182.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 28-29.

⁶ Wood, *Guide to the Records in the Public Record Office, Ireland*, p. 28, so states.

⁷ *Calendar of Faints, Elizabeth*, No. 3694 (in Reports of the Deputy Keeper, Dublin, 1869 ff.). Cf. also Harleian MS 4107.

⁸ *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

Hardiman and Grosart (if indeed Grosart closely inspected the "Liber Hiberniae") apparently have simply confused the several¹ offices of clerk of the Chancery for Faculties, of clerk of the acts and recognizances, and of clerk of decrees and recognizances. Until further evidence is adduced the statement that Spenser was clerk of decrees and recognizances rests, therefore, on the unsupported "authority" of Hardiman.

V. SPENSER "CLERK IN CHANCERY FOR FACULTIES"

That Edmund Spenser, "gent., secretary of the deputy" received the grant of the office of "registrar or clerk in Chancery, for faculties under the statute 28 Hen. VIII, to hold during good behaviour, with the fees belonging to the office," March 22, 1580-81, is definitely established.² The entry of the same appointment in Harleian MS 4107 is in nearly the same terms, but with a significant addition: "Edmunde Spencer, Register or Clerke in the Chauncerie of the faculties within the kingdome of Ireland quam diu se bene gesserit, a depu[ty] all[owed], canc. 22 die Marcii 23 Eliz." We also know that Spenser was succeeded in this office by Arland Ussher, Gent.,³ under patent of June 22, 1588,⁴ at the time when Spenser is supposed to have taken over from Bryskett the office of acting clerk of the Council of Munster.

These documents suggest an explanation and a query or two. The statute referred to is rather long, a bit involved, and not easy to apply in all respects to the case of Spenser.⁵ It recites most of the provisions of the corresponding English act and concludes by declaring that this act shall extend not only to England but to the King's other dominions, including Ireland. "Faculties" are special licenses or permits (e.g., for the removal of a grave) issued by ecclesiastical authority under the ecclesiastical law.⁶ The act provides

¹ Several, that is, so far as they are treated in the *Liber Munerum*.

² *Calendar of Pianta, Elisabeth*, No. 3694. Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29. "Lewis" Bryskett, "Clerk of the P. Council" was the first incumbent of this office by patent of April 11, 1577.

³ Father of the future archbishop who claimed friendship with Spenser.

⁴ *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

⁵ Cf. *The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*. . . . Published by Authority, Dublin, 1786, chap. xix, pp. 142 ff. "The Act of Faculties." Cf. *Liber Munerum*, Part VI, pp. 7 ff., for a digest of the act. Cf. C. L. Falkiner, *Essays Relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, p. 13, n.

⁶ On "Faculties" see *Encyclopedia of the Laws of England*, London, 1907, VI, 1-2; also *The Laws of England*, by the Earl of Halsbury, London, 1910, XI, 540.

for their issuance by the archbishop or his deputies subject to the approval of the Crown. The archbishop is empowered to ordain a clerk to write and register all licenses. The Crown also is to ordain "one sufficient clerke, being learned in the course of chancery" to enrol all confirmations of such licenses. Both clerks shall sign and register all licenses, and keep proper books. The provisions as to fees are very complicated. It seems impossible from them to arrive at any estimate of what Spenser's revenues from this source may have been. The entry above from the Harleian MSS ("a deputy allowed") suggests that this office may have been granted to Spenser as a sinecure and that he never performed its functions in person but merely by a deputy. In which case a deal of reconstruction in the surmises as to his occupations in Ireland 1582-88 would be necessitated! At least it seems a fair question whether the secretary of the lord deputy could find time, from March, 1581, to September, 1582, to perform the duties of clerk of the faculties.

Were there two clerks in Ireland, one for the archbishop and one for the Crown? If so which of the clerkships did Spenser hold? Does the abbreviated word "canc." in the document cited above together with the phrase "in chancery" indicate an appointment from the Lord Chancellor? And so may Spenser's appointment have come from Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and lord chancellor of Ireland (1581-1605)? Or was he appointed by the Crown through the Lord Deputy Grey?

But still another problem now appears. And that is found in the record¹ of a patent of March 14, 1582, to Roland Cowyk, "being now aged," to this effect:

That he shall have and enjoy the same several offices in that our realm of Ireland [i.e. as exist in England, viz. "Clerk of our Chancery . . . for . . . matters and causes of Faculties"; also "our sole Register for all manner of Appeales Ecclesiastical made to us into our Chancery"], and be our Clerk of our Chancery there for the Faculties, and our sole Register for all manner of Appeales Ecclesiastical . . . in as ample manner as either our officers do use and exercise those severall offices here in England . . . and also the office of our Register of our late and new created Prerogative Court Ecclesiastical in Ireland.²

¹ *Liber Munerum*, Part II, p. 29.

² Established March 1, 1580.

Cowyk is not described as "sole" clerk for faculties. Did he act in this office as Spenser's deputy? Probably not. Else why the separate patent from the Crown? Or was he the clerk appointed by the Crown ("our Clerk") while Spenser, or Spenser's deputy, was the archbishop's clerk for faculties?¹

At any rate from the terms of the act it does not appear that Spenser was clerk of a court in the modern sense, where cases were tried or decided. Whichever of the clerkships he held his duties would merely be either the writing and registering of "faculties" (special ecclesiastical licenses) or the registration of their confirmation by the Crown.²

VI. SPENSER'S "REWARDS" AS SECRETARY TO GREY

Grosart's *Life of Spenser*³ recites the "entry of £162 [= £1600 today at least] assigned to Spenser for 'rewards' paid by him as Secretary." In the article on Spenser in the *Dictionary of National Biography* this statement is transformed⁴ and appears as: "He was well paid for his services, and in 1582 received for 'rewards' as secretary 162*l*."

¹ The language of the patent suggests the appointment of Cowyk as clerk for the Crown. But see the letter of Loftus to Burghley, May 22, 1587 (*Calendar, Ireland, 1586-88*, p. 359), on the recent death of Cowyk, where the latter is described as Loftus' "registrar" for many years. The probability is that Spenser was appointed by Grey for the Crown. Possibly Cowyk immediately succeeded him as sole registrar for faculties in Ireland.

² *Liber Munerum*, Part III, p. 9, refers to Cottonian MSS, Titus B, XII, No. 89, "A paper concerning the instructions for passing faculties in Ireland." I have not had the opportunity of inspecting this MS. It may be of importance.

³ In his edition of Spenser, I, [147]. Cites as authority the "Book of Concordatums." As this goes to press a report is received from Mr. Henry R. Plomer of his finding an additional passage concerning the payment of sums to Spenser for rewards to messengers in the "Book of Concordatums," which is probably the one referred to by Grosart. It is in *State Papers (London), Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. 92, p. 20 (1), and reads as follows: "Edmond Spencer for Rewards by him payd to messengers at sundrie times viz.:

ultimo Septembris 1580	by concordatum	£ 12. 15.
xij Decembris 1580	p	" 18. 16. 10
xxvij March 1581	"	" 39. 3. 8
x Iune 1581	"	" 47. 2. 8
ix Nov ^r 1581	"	" 42. 19. 2

In all £160. 17. 4."

The previous citation, above, therefore, appears to be that of an as yet unnoticed document in relation to Spenser.

⁴ At least no other authority than Grosart is apparent *ad loc*. Grosart's citation is incomplete and easily subject to misinterpretation. The *Dictionary of National Biography* statement, through lack of verification, is completely wrong.

The original records in the Public Record Office, London,¹ give entries of "suche Concordat as is alredie paid by Sr. Henry Wallopp, knight Treasurer at warres there" to "Edmond Spencer for rewards to messengers," in the total sum £430. 10. 2d. How Grosart arrived at the sum of £162 I do not know. But the plain inference is that these sums were not for Spenser's personal use but were for the payment of messengers or bearers of official dispatches through him as secretary of the Lord Deputy.

An entry which follows (p. 32, verso), however, is of another sort: "necessaries for secretaries and clerks attending the Lo: Deputy & counsail viz. to Edmond Spencer ultimo Decr 1580 *Xli* et 26 Iunij 1581 *Xli* = *XXli* yr [£20 a year]." This apparently was the amount of Spenser's yearly salary as secretary to Grey. The sum was doubtless augmented by various perquisites. And the entry indicates that Spenser's position was that of official secretary to the Governor and Council and not that merely of Grey's personal secretary.

VII. SPENSER'S IRISH TOPOGRAPHY

This is not a contribution but is a call for help. A great deal has been written about the Irish place-names in Spenser's poetry,² Kilcolman has been described very prettily,³ but otherwise little has been made of Irish topography in elucidation of Spenser's biography. New Abbey, where apparently Spenser had residence for several years, has not been studied, the various localities mentioned in leases

¹ Transcript by Mr. Henry R. Plomer from *State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. 97, pp. 22-33, at p. 32, under dates of ult. Sept. 1580, 12 Dec. 1580, 28 Mar. 1581, 10 July 1581, 9 Nov. 1581, 10 Feb. 1581 [1582], 12 Apr. 1582, 24 June 1582, and 24 Aug. 1582. Mr. Plomer was put to some trouble in locating Grosart's rather vague reference.

² The place-names in the poetry are indexed in Whitman's *Subject Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, New Haven, 1918. See also *Dublin University Magazine*, XXII (1843), 583 ff.; LVIII (1861), 131 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, CCI (1905), 164 ff.; *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXX (1800), II, 1127; LXXXVIII (1818), I, 224; Falkner, *Essays Relating to Ireland*, London, 1909, pp. 3-31; Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, Dublin, 1870; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV (1869), pp. 169-70; Ser. IV, Vol. VII (1870), pp. 317-18; C. Moore in *Journal Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, X (1904), 31-33, 133-34; White, *Historical and Topographical Notes*, Cork, 1913, pp. 264-73; Hogan's *Description of Ireland, 1598*, Dublin, 1878, and the various early descriptions of Ireland there listed. See also Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland*, in Hollinshed. See Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, Dublin, 1786-1804, III, No. xii.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXVIII (1818), 577; Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, London, 1824, pp. 108-10; Howitt, *Homes of the Poets*, London, 1847, pp. 13-39; W. A. Jones in *Journal Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, VII (1901), 238-42; and in various lives of Spenser.

and grants remain unexplained, and the numerous place-names arrayed, and that rather systematically, in the *View of Ireland* still call for annotation. Many of these latter places Spenser doubtless had visited. What part had they in his life and in his mental furniture?

Now it is apparent from a passage in the *View of Ireland*¹ that Spenser had before him a map of Ireland and depended upon it in part (as a good cartographer should), in outlining his recommendations for the garrisoning of Ireland. What map did he use? The printed maps² available to Spenser were:

1. *Hibernia sive Irlanda insula Venetiis, 1568*. In one sheet, 250×175 mm. Few names of places; little detail. Insufficient and probably not used. MS note in BM copy attributes this map to Zalterius and dates it 1560.

2. *Hibernia Insula 1565*. In corner "Venetiis Aeneis formis Bolognini Zalterii Anno. M.D. LXVI." One sheet, 332×242 mm. Like No. 1, but more names of places.

In the same volumes is

3. *Hybernia nunc Irlant (Venice 1570)*. 342×257 mm. A copy of No. 2 enlarged.

4. *Eryn. Hiberniae Britannicae Insulae, nova descriptio. Irlandt In Addimentum theatri orbis terrarum Abrahamus Ortelius. Antuerpiae 1573*. 476×357 mm. Based upon Giraldus Cambrensis. Many place names, but often different in form from those recited by Spenser.

There is also

5. A MS map said to have been made by Laurence Nowell (d.1576) the antiquary, Dean of Lichfield, and brother of Alex Nowell. Lithographed and printed by the Ordnance Survey, c. 1861. Perhaps Spenser had a copy of this. It is much more detailed than the others.

6. In a valuable article on "Sixteenth Century Maps of Ireland"³ R. Dunlop gives a descriptive catalogue of all such maps still extant in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere, and calls attention to one in Trinity College, Dublin, as the best and fullest of all.⁴ In the absence of evidence to the contrary may we not assume that this was the map to which Spenser refers?

¹ Globe ed. of Spenser, p. 652. Eudoxus uses the map for his guidance. Irenaeus (Spenser) perhaps has less need of it, and in relation to many places seems to speak from personal knowledge.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Further details furnished me by Mr. Henry R. Plomer.

³ In the *English Historical Review*, XX (1905), 309-37.

⁴ No. 1209, 83 (*Abbott's Cat. of MSS*, Trinity College, 1900), by Boazio, c. 1578-80: "The most authoritative map of Ireland we possess for the period."

Are there any other maps of Ireland dating before 1596 which Spenser may have used?

VIII. SPENSER'S FAMILY

Spenser's origin and the Lancashire question is still a matter of hot dispute. The evidence of the *Lismore Papers* (very imperfectly indexed) seems to settle the point that his wife was Elizabeth Boyle and that she was a kinswoman of Richard Boyle, with whom Spenser, according to the official records, came in contact at various points. That Sylvanus and Peregrine were his sons seems established. The evidence as to a third son Laurence and a daughter Catherine seems much vaguer and needs further investigation.¹ That he had a sister Sarah who kept house for him in Ireland before his marriage, who herself married a certain Travers and who received as a marriage portion from Spenser a part of the Kilcolman estate, is a matter of more moment in his life than the sentimental interest attaching to the posthumous fortunes of his children. The evidence as to this seems to rest on the authority of a "Pedigree of Spenser's Family" in the *Patrician*.² A verification of the evidence is indicated.

IX. SPENSER'S PATRONS AND ASSOCIATES IN IRELAND

Spenser's public career in Ireland inevitably brought him into touch with many men, especially with men in public station. Grey's influence was doubtless all powerful during the first two years (1580-82) of Spenser's sojourn in Ireland, and Grey was a consistent patron of men of letters and most of all of Spenser, his personal secretary and the most promising man of letters of his time. With this help and through the influence of his own attractive personality the new poet doubtless established many points of connection which were

¹ Sir William Betham, "Genealogical Table of Spenser's Descendants," *Gentleman's Magazine* (1842), II, 140, "compiled by me from the records of Ireland." Cf. *Lismore Papers*, IV, 242-43. F. C. Spencer in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1842), II, 138-43 (giving Betham's Table), is the authority chiefly followed by Craik, Collier, R. W. Church, Grosart, etc.

² *The Patrician*, V (London, 1848), 54-55. But cf. Betham, note 1 above; Keightley in *Fraser's Magazine*, LX (1859), 410 ff.; etc. The case for a younger brother "John" is more tenuous. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Spenser," p. 793. John Spenser was at Merchant Taylor's School in 1571. But is there any proof that he was Spenser's brother? James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, to some of whose forfeited estates Spenser succeeded under lease, is stated to have married the daughter of Sir John Travers (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.). Were the two Travers of the same family? Cf. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, I, 602; that Enniscorthy was given by Elizabeth to John Travers, who conveyed the estate to Spenser.

useful to him in his subsequent career. The influence of the Sidney family may have continued to count for something. The Norris family,¹ long years prominent among the governors of Ireland, may have helped. His frequent relations with Bryskett are apparent from the *Discourse* as well as from the public records. And there was a host of other officials, Cowyk, Arland Ussher and his promising young son, the future archbishop, Wallopp, Boyle, St. Leger, Justice Saxey, Archbishop Loftus, Bishop Lyon, Dawtrey, Dillon, Dormer, Geoffrey Fenton, Greenham, Langherne, the members of the Council of Munster, and many others, with whom he was thrown.² An attempt to reconstruct this society and to show the life of the times in Ireland in connection with Spenser would not be an impossible task and should be a highly interesting one. The *Calendars of State Papers* and other public documents would supply considerable material in relation to these men. The *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* gives pretty complete lists of all officials in Ireland in Spenser's time.³ The several articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* with their accompanying references would afford an excellent starting-point. And there is much material of a miscellaneous nature. Assuredly much new light on Spenser's career may be expected from researches in this field.

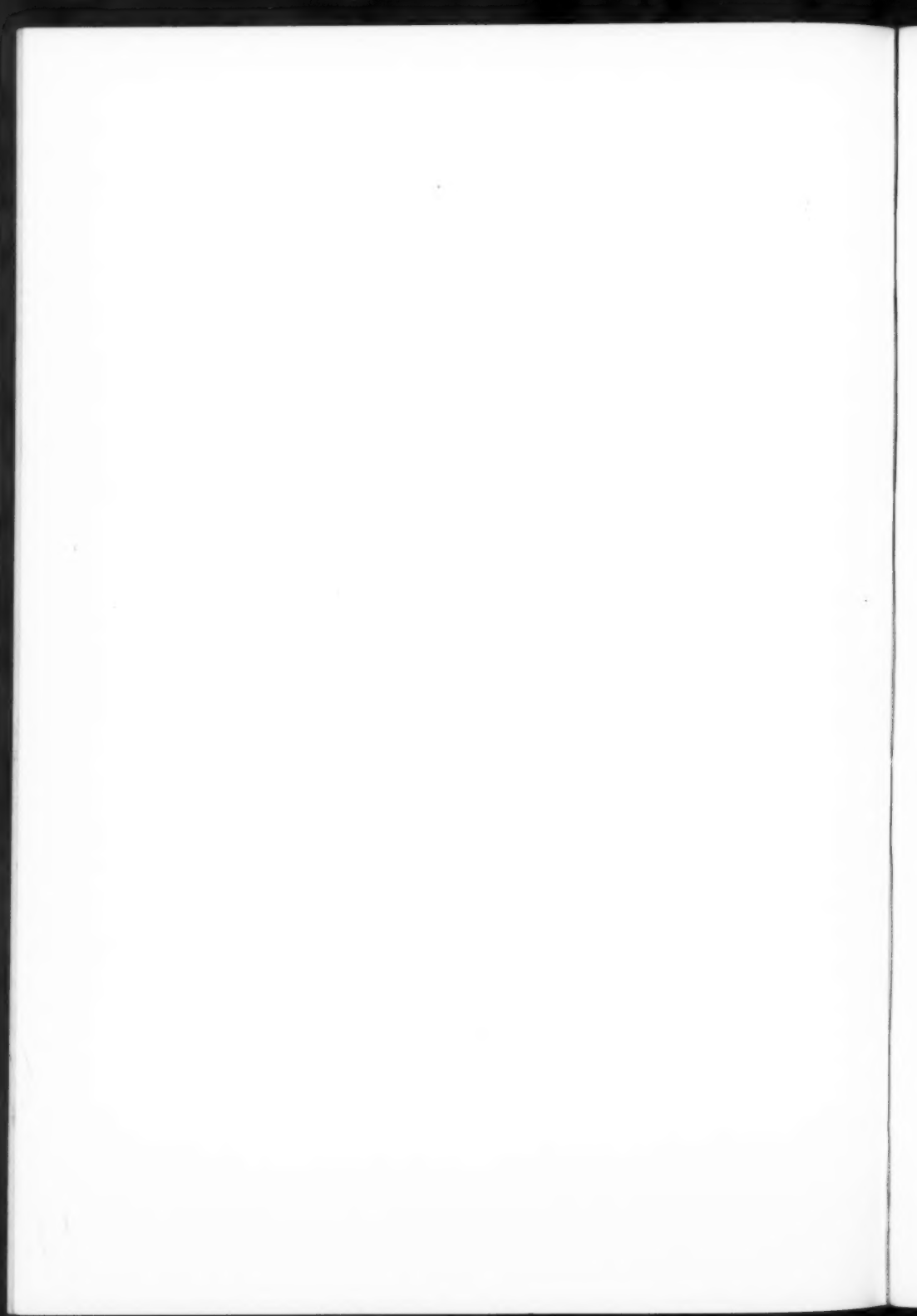
FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER

CHICAGO

¹ Did this connection date from the time of the employment of "Edmonde Spencer" as bearer of dispatches from Sir Henry Norris in France in 1569?

² On Spenser's associates in Ireland cf. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 457-58.

³ There is a list of Irish officials also in Harleian MS 4107, p. 56. See other material referred to in the *Liber Munerum*.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered. By THOMAS HEYWOOD.
Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by ALEXANDER
CORBIN JUDSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.
Pp. 180.

In this edition Heywood's play—printed hitherto only in a limited edition by Bullen from Egerton MS 1994 in the year 1885—is made accessible to the general student. The editor's work has been done well. A careful reprint of the text has resulted in many corrections of Bullen's readings, and the peculiarities and problems of the manuscript are set forth in the introduction and notes. The annotation is very succinct but fairly adequate, and the discussion of sources is excellent. If the editor errs it is on the side of too great brevity. One would like to have, for instance, some information in regard to the actors whose names appear on the margin of the manuscript (see p. 11) and the probable date of the performance in which they took part.

In regard to one detail—the source of the subplot—the editor's omissions lead wrongly to the impression that English and American scholars have been quite ignorant as to the correct source, which was pointed out by Koeppl in 1896 (Herrig's *Archiv*, XCVII, 323-29). In summarizing previous discussions Judson does not include references to notes by Ward in his *History of English Dramatic Literature* and to a discussion by Taylor in Volume XV of *Modern Philology*, though the bibliography (p. 180) does cover these. Koeppl referred Heywood's subplot to the first story of Masuccio's *Novellino*. Kittredge, however, in 1898 (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, II, 13) gave as a source the English verse tale *Dan Hew* and pointed out closely related versions among the French *fabliaux*. Kittredge has been followed by Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama* [1908], I, 352, n. 2) and others. In 1899, Ward in the first volume of his *History of Dramatic Literature* (p. 338, n. 2) suggested the episode of the friars in the *Jew of Malta* as Heywood's source, but in the second volume (p. 568, n. 3) he gave the correct source, following Koeppl. On account, however, of an ambiguous pronoun and an incomplete reference to Koeppl's article, which he must have seen in a reprint, Ward's statement is not clear. In fact, later summarizing the matter in his chapter on Heywood in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (VI, 116), Ward made the mistake of referring to Masuccio the main plot of *The Captives* (drawn from Plautus' *Rudens*) and accepted Kittredge's derivation of the subplot from *Dan Hew*. In 1917 Archer

Taylor, in a study of the group of stories to which *Dan Hew* and the Masuccio novella belong, showed the isolation of the *Dan Hew* version and the derivation of Heywood's versions from Masuccio, including his first one, a prose form in the *History of Women* (*Mod. Phil.*, XV, 243-44). But Taylor did not discuss *The Captives* in detail or give references to the articles of Koepfel and Kittredge. It thus remained after all for Judson in the present volume, following Koepfel, to give what seems to be the first adequate and convincing account in English of the relation of Heywood's play to Masuccio's story.

C. R. BASKERVILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Angevin Britain and Scandinavia. By HENRY GODDARD LEACH.
 "Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature," Vol. VI. Cambridge, Mass.: 1921. Pp. xi+432.

This book is, as the preface states, both essay and monograph. It contains both compilation and research, and the proportion of the latter is likely to be underestimated by him who is not of the craft. Both the Northernist and the republic of letters generally may be grateful for it, since it brings together what has been far apart and in tongues inaccessible to the majority of scholars, and it gives much information that is new and valuable. The preface also pays a deserved tribute of affection and respect to the late William Henry Schofield, to whom the book is dedicated.

Many colorful pictures arise from these pages. We note with interest that the Angles, the dominant tribe among the emigrants, were assuredly of the Scandinavian unity; we smile at the grim picture of the Norseman Sigtrygg and his Irish wife watching from the towers of Dublin the defeat of the Northmen at the battle of Clontarf, and we wonder what would have happened to the English language if King Svend Estridsson or his sons had carried out their intention of making good against William the Conqueror their claim to the English throne. The second chapter, "Traders and Envoys," and the third, "Clergy," show us the manifold traffic between England and the Scandinavian countries, Norwegian kings and magnates merchandising with England, a Norwegian prelate sailing to Lynn in command of his own ship with a cargo of dried fish, and after accomplishing his ecclesiastical errand, sailing home with a lading of wheat and cloth and wine.

Especially interesting are the Norse-English relations in the reign of Hákon the Old (1217-63) and the years following, contemporary with Henry III of England (1216-72). The two kings were good friends. Great churchmen and scholars passed back and forth. Matthew Paris, who came to Norway to settle some monastic troubles, found that Hákon was "bene litteratus." His reign coincided with the zenith of Icelandic literature, and the literary men of that island sought his patronage and that of his suc-

cessors. The chapter on "Western Romance" shows this same Hákon as the patron of foreign learning. The medievalist without specific knowledge of Northern matters will be surprised to learn that in his reign and the time immediately after, up to 1290, fifty or more foreign romances were translated into Norwegian: Breton lays, stories of Charles the Great, of Alexander, a collection representative of monastic and chivalric culture. Hákon's sons were brought up like Norman knights, and the elder son translated *Barlaam and Josaphat* from Latin into Norwegian.

The author's investigations show that these romances "were the direct product of Hákon's friendship with England and the English. . . . In a few Norse translations there is definite internal evidence that the original was an Anglo-Norman or a Middle English work. In no instance does such evidence point to Continental French. Whenever a central French version exists, it shows a wide divergence from the Norwegian form. Whenever we have an Anglo-Norman version of the original, the Norse redaction follows it closely. Whenever the source is preserved in both Continental and English dialects, the Norse form in each case is more nearly related to the Anglo-Norman." The North Sea was thus no barrier between England and the Scandinavian lands, but rather a much fared road.

A special chapter is given to "Tristan in the North" and to the "Breton Lays," and on page 203 the student will find a definition of a Breton lay taken from medieval sources. Another chapter treats the Carolingian and Arthurian romances.

In the tenth chapter, "Eastern Romance," the author is on well-nigh virgin ground. He gives us here the most extensive account yet published of the *Lygisögur*, the latest group of Icelandic romantic sagas, practically all of which are still unpublished. They have been neglected because they have almost no literary merit, but they are of interest to the student of comparative literature. Some seem to come from Russia, and many from the Orient, reflecting the Icelanders' "City of Dreams," Constantinople.

The eleventh chapter, "Epic Survivals," goes back of the Angevin period and discusses the Anglo-Danish traditions surviving from the time of migration: Beowulf, Offa, Widsith, here called a "Social Register of royal families," and the scanty specimens of Old English stanzaic verse. The next chapter discusses the viking themes planted later in England by the Danes and Norwegians: Ragnar Loðbrok, Siward Digri, Havelock, Horn, and the viking tales prefixed to *Tristan* and *Bevis of Hampton*. In the following chapter, on "Outlaw Legends," the story of Hereward is discussed.

The fourteenth chapter, "Ballads," suggests much research to be done. We have always accepted Denmark as the home of the Northern and of many of the English and Scottish ballads, simply because of the richness of Danish ballad store. Leach suggests that England may be the source of much of the Scandinavian balladry; that in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there may have been a stream from England to Norway,

whence the ballads spread to the rest of the Scandinavian world; that when envoys and ecclesiastics took home to Norway written romances in their baggage, the men of their crews carried home ballads in their heads. Here is a rich field of research.

The last chapter treats briefly Anglo-Scandinavian literary relations in modern times.

There is a very useful appendix, a "Hypothetical Chart of Foreign Romances in Scandinavia," containing some hundred and twenty numbers, following this, twenty-seven pages of bibliography, and a convenient index.

It is a stimulating book; the four hundred and thirty-two pages are replete with information and suggestion. No one can write a history of Old Scandinavian literature without taking this work into account. The first sentence of the preface is in part: "The following chapters constitute the present stage of a study of mediaeval relations between the literatures of the British and Scandinavian countries, begun at Harvard University in 1906. . . ." We await with interest the succeeding stages.

CHESTER NATHAN GOULD

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"*Le Roman de la Rose*" par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun.

Publié d'après les Manuscrits par ERNEST LANGLOIS. Société des Anciens Textes français. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie. Tome I^{er}: Introduction, 1914. Pp. 350. Tome II^e: Texte, Notes, 1920. Pp. 351.

The great impetus given to Romance studies by Gaston Paris, who died in March, 1903, after some thirty years of arduous labors, has not yet spent itself. One of his pupils, whose Doctor's dissertation on the *Origines et sources du "Roman de la Rose"* appeared as long ago as 1890, is now carrying forward the large and important project of a critical edition of the famous allegorical poem which was the delight of the later Old French period. Of *The Book of the Rose* at least three hundred manuscripts are known; of these, Langlois catalogued 215 and classified 116 in a preceding volume, which appeared in 1910 and which serves as basis for the text now in course of publication.¹

The first volume of text contains 6,342 verses, not one-third of the whole; but it includes the whole of the known poetry of Guillaume of Lorris (the first 4,058 lines), whose remarkable initiative and charming poetic gift were to meet with such immense recognition. As late as the sixteenth century, attempts were still made to keep the poem within reach of readers: the

¹ *Les Manuscrits du "Roman de la Rose": description et classement*. "Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille," I, 7. Lille et Paris: H. Champion, 1910. Pp. 548. Rich in notices of unpublished manuscript material.

well-known Preface attributed to Clément Marot laments the incorrectness of the text and describes the effort made to restore it to "meilleur estat et plus expediente forme." In the high tide of the Renaissance, another poet and excellent judge in literary matters, Joachim du Bellay, would make almost a clean sweep of all that had been written in France before his day: "De tous les anciens poetes françois, quasi un seul [Du Bellay looks upon the poem as a unit] Guillaume de Lauris et Jean de Meun sont dignes d'estre leus, non tant pour ce qu'il y ait en eux beaucoup de choses qui se doivent imiter des modernes, comme pour y voir quasi comme une premiere image de la langue françoise" (*Deffense et Illustration*, II, 2). Thus, in 1549, Du Bellay would save the Rose-romance from oblivion, both because of its noteworthy content and the signal merit of its style.¹

"The Romance of the Rose" had therefore a great reputation in France as a *testo di lingua*, in addition to its attraction as a lovers' manual, a *Miroir aux Amoureux*,

Ou l'art d'Amours est toute enclose.

If Jean de Meun's cynical views of womankind were an offense to Christine de Pizan and to the preacher Gerson, the latter was constrained to admit the eminence of the work as a specimen of the *loquela gallica* at its best.² M. Langlois is therefore warranted in making a thorough study of the language of the two poets, basing his exposition upon a complete rhyme-list of the upward of twenty-two thousand verses. He has thus made accessible for the first time a vast amount of linguistic material of great interest, conveniently arranged.

The dialect of the two authors now appears as differing notably (I, 185); while Jean de Meun, as he states himself (Michel ed., II, 354), will select his words "selon le langage de France," his predecessor wrote a French impregnated with localisms of the upper valley of the Loire,³ a fact which need in no way detract from the charm of passages like that in which Guillaume pictures a "carol," danced in company upon the fresh grass (vv. 743-71).

The third volume (continuation of the text) was announced as being in press last November by the Société des Anciens Textes français, whose

¹ This was also, no doubt, Chaucer's opinion: cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 272-73. M. Langlois (I, 39) seems to have overlooked Deschamps' *Ballade*.

² Gerson's *Tractatus contra "Romantium de Rosa,"* a document of no little interest in the history of literary criticism, is printed in full by Ward, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1910 (also separately, as a University of Chicago dissertation, 1911); see pp. 38-55.

³ It appears that the form of the city-name *Orléans* is itself a bit of local dialect (as, indeed, Meyer-Lübke had indicated; see his *Einführung*, 1901, § 204). From *Aurelianis* we should expect *Orliiens*, which is usual in Old French, but in that neighborhood *moyen* is *mean*, and *rien reans* (I, 212, note).

recent resumption of activity, after five years' interruption, we are pleased to note.¹

T. A. JENKINS

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"*The Song of Roland*" *Done into English, in the Original Measure.*

By CHARLES SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. With an Introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON and a Note on Technique by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1919. Pp. xxii+131.

"*La Chanson de Roland.*" *Traduction nouvelle d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford.* Par HENRI CHAMARD. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1919. Pp. xi+ 224.

"The poets can be well translated only in verse" is the judgment of M. Chamard; this was also Captain Moncrieff's opinion, and both have adopted the traditional decasyllable. The author of the English translation revives assonance, in the effort to be very literal; in the French, rhyme is used, but with a free arrangement which results in a pleasing sense of ease and flow. Both are unusually successful in preserving the simplicity and vigor of the original. Mr. Saintsbury thinks the Moncrieff translation "is not merely in detail but in general effect, the most faithful version I have ever seen of the great Song."

But no translator, however gifted and trained in linguistics, can escape the hard condition that his work must have its basis in a pre-established text: no fountain rises higher than its source. Thus it is that a certain sense of shortcoming hangs over all these persistent efforts to present the most famous Old French epic to modern readers in their vernacular. Not long ago, in this *Journal* (XVI, 569-70), we remarked that it is surprising to find how little has been done of recent years to study the language (and we might have added, the versification) of the Oxford *Roland*. As Alfred Jeanroy said recently in a presidential address before the Société des Anciens Textes français: "Il est attristant de penser que l'on chercherait en vain dans notre collection la *Chanson de Roland*."² Moncrieff, to our regret, based his work upon the Petit de Julleville text of 1878, which fell by accident under

¹ Other works of medieval French literature announced by the Society as in press are: Guillaume de Machaut, Vol. III (Hoepffner); the short biographic epic *Doon de la Roche* (P. Meyer); the first volume of a *Recueil de Jeux-Partis* (Jeanroy and Langfors); the *Roman de la fille du Comte de Pontieu* (Brunel). We regret to note the continued postponement of the publication of the edition of the *Châtelain de Couci* which was almost completed in 1910 by J. E. Matzke (*Mod. Phil.*, VIII, 304; *Matzke Memorial Volume*, 1911, p. 11) and to which M. Bédier then undertook to add an introduction and a glossary. This last important work of our late co-Editor was on the eve of publication in 1913, but, to the regret of many, was then side-tracked to make way for M. Bédier's *Lai de l'Ombre*.

² *Bulletin de la Société*, 46^e Année (1920), p. 35.

his hand; M. Chamard, who had enjoyed the counsels of M. Bédier, went directly to the Oxford manuscript as printed by Gröber.

If we select two famous lines for illustration:

1861 Tere de France, mult estes dulz païs
Oï desertét a tant rubostl exill

all the editors agree that "rubostl" is a scribal blunder for *rubeste* 'rude,' 'harsh'; but what, exactly, is "exill"? Let us observe the translators at work:

I. Butler (1904):

O France, fair land, today art thou made desolate by rude slaughter.

J. Geddes (1906):

Terre de France, ma douce patrie, rendue déserte aujourd'hui par si cruel malheur!

A. S. Way (1913):

O Land of France, an exceeding pleasant land art thou;
But of all these noble vassals thou sittest widowed now!

Moncrieff:

Douce land of France, o very precious clime,
Laid desolate by such a sour exile!

Chamard:

Terre de France, ô mon très doux pays,
De quels soutiens tu es veuve aujourd'hui!

Is it not plain that until we know the precise meaning of *eissil* we shall not have taken the first step toward a satisfactory French or English equivalent of these lines? Here is a pure problem of word-history: it seems possible that Latin *exiliare* and a verb represented by Norse *scilja* 'separate out,' 'cut off,' have, by chance, coincided in form in the OF *essillier*; but, fortunately, the expression *terres essilliées* is frequent enough for us to be reasonably sure of its meaning: it means precisely what we mean by the current phrase "the devastated regions," and *eissil* signifies (aside from 'exile') 'ruin,' 'devastation,' 'ravage.' It is then not simply 'malheur,' nor 'slaughter,' nor yet 'widowhood,' while 'sour exile' conveys to the present writer no very clear idea of any kind.

The very next line:

Baron franceis, por mei vos vei morir

contains a difficulty of another sort. *Por* means here 'because of,' and not 'for the sake of,' as a score of passages in the poem make entirely clear. Messrs. Petit de Julleville, Tavernier, Chamard, and Moncrieff have all fallen into error here; while Gautier, Geddes ('par ma faute'), Miss Butler, A. S. Way ('of my doing'), have rendered the passage correctly. Nor is a mere *nuance* involved in this case: Roland, for the moment, is not eulogizing the loyalty of his subordinates; he is, exactly like Hector before Troy,

bitterly reproaching himself because "by trusting his own might, he undid the host." Is it not also plain that no one should attempt to give the public a modern version of a famous epic of the olden time without considerable preliminary study of the olden tongue?

In spite of such shortcomings, avoidable and unavoidable, both these new translations¹ will render good service. That of M. Chamard especially abounds in felicitous phrasing, and gives an excellent impression of the poem as a whole. But, to attain the desired directness and simplicity, there is also great gain in the regular use of assonance: witness a short passage, the concluding lines:

"Summon the hosts, Charlès, of thine Empire,
Go thou by force into the land of Bire,
King Vivien thou'lt succor there, at Imphe,
In the city which pagans have besieged.
The Christians there implore thee and beseech."
"God!" said the King: "My life is hard indeed!"
Tears filled his eyes, he tore his snowy beard.
So ends the tale. . . .

Upon this close, Mr. Chesterton comments with some eloquence: "The poem ends as it were with a vision and vista of wars against the barbarians; and the vision is true. For that war is never ended, which defends the sanity of the world against all the stark anarchies and rending negations which rage against it forever."

T. A. JENKINS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Ronsard et l'Humanisme. Par PIERRE DE NOLHAC. (227ème fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes). Paris: Edouard Champion, 1921. Pp. xi+365.

L'ouvrage fort érudit de M. de N. est divisé en quatre parties d'inégale longueur. La première et la plus longue est consacrée à "Ronsard l'Humaniste: l'éducation, le milieu, les lectures." La seconde étudie "Ronsard et les Humanistes de son temps." La troisième, intitulée "Les écrits latins de Ronsard" est très courte, car ce fut un des grands mérites de Ronsard de s'être habituellement abstenu de latiniser selon le goût du temps, mais elle contient un document inédit de grand intérêt: l'éloge latin où Ronsard a si fort malmené Pierre de Paschal, l'historiographe du Roi, celui même qu'avait signalé Laumonier dans les *Oeuvres Complètes* (VII, 138) comme récemment découvert par M. de Nolhac. Le MS s'en trouve à la Bibliothèque de Munich, parmi d'autres appartenant à la collection Jean de

¹ Another, in Italian, is announced: *La Canzone d'Orlando*, tradotta dal Conte G. L. Passerini. viii+198 pp. Città di Castello: Casa editrice Il Solco, 1922. M. Bédier's translation is expected from the press almost daily.

Morel, bien connue pour les pages inédites de Michel de l'Hospital et de J. du Bellay qu'elle a déjà fournies. La quatrième partie du livre, "Le Cicéronien de la Brigade, Ronsard et P. de Paschal" n'est guère qu'une biographie de Paschal, ce Toulousain auréolé par un voyage en Italie, qui avait promis d'immortaliser Ronsard débutant, dans une histoire littéraire de la France qu'il n'a jamais écrite.

La vraie valeur du livre ne réside pas tant dans l'étude de la culture gréco-latine de Ronsard, où M. de N. ne fait guère que suivre Laumonier, que dans l'excellente description du milieu humaniste international dans lequel a vécu Ronsard. Des lettres et documents manuscrits importants, trouvés dans des bibliothèques italiennes et françaises, ajoutent beaucoup au prix du livre. Les figures les plus intéressantes sur lesquelles M. de N. projette un jour nouveau sont Jean Brinon, Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, protecteur du groupe Ronsardien jusqu'à sa mort, Uytenhove, attachant humaniste de Gand, Denis Lambin, philologue et compagnon de Ronsard au Collège de Coqueret, Etienne Forcadet de Toulouse, et Jean de Morel, "gentilhomme ambrunois." Le dossier de chacun de ces humanistes, injustement oubliés, est d'ores et déjà assez complet pour que M. de N. invite de jeunes érudits à leur consacrer des monographies.

FRANCK L. SCHOELL

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Ernest Renan. By L. F. MOTT. New York: Appleton, 1921.

Pp. v+461.

This is an excellent volume and probably the fullest biography of Renan that has appeared. It is well balanced, moderate in tone, and thoroughgoing. The proper contemporary sources for Renan's career have been utilized; numerous quotations from the author and analyses of his works are a feature of the treatment. The history of his writings is throughout linked with his life, and two final chapters give detailed consideration to the *Origines du Christianisme* and the *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*. It can scarcely be expected that Professor Mott or any other literary critic should speak the last word concerning the scientific value of these monuments. At any rate, the charge of dilettantism is once more rebutted, and the "Renan legend," due largely to his disciples, should ultimately be dispelled.

Professor Mott rarely quotes the original French, and a certain obscurity or awkwardness occasionally appears in his translations. Examples of this may be found on pages 60, 111, 238, and 324. The terms *spiritualiste* and *spiritualisme* (pp. 75, 111) should not be literally translated. Also it is doubtful whether the term *la science* should always be rendered by its English equivalent—"scholarship" or "knowledge" often seems nearer the mark. The epigram attributed to La Rochefoucauld (p. 37) should be credited to Montesquieu. It can scarcely be said that the work of the

Hebrew prophets "embraces the entire religious endeavor of mankind" (p. 416). Repetitions of thought and phrasing are perhaps unavoidable, but they seem rather frequent. A general bibliography at the end would substantiate the effect of Professor Mott's careful footnotes and references. On the whole, the fascinating figure of Renan does not suffer from this adequate and sympathetic presentation.

E. PRESTON DARGAN

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Le opere di Dante: Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana.

Edited by M. BARBI, E. G. PARODI, F. PELLEGRINI, E. PISTELLI, P. RAJNA, E. ROSTAGNO, and G. VANDELLI. With an Index by M. CASELLA. Florence: Bemporad, 1921. Pp. xxxii+980.

This volume is by far the most notable of the hundreds of Dante publications issued during the sexcentenary. It gives us our first critical texts of the *Commedia*, the *Rime*, the *Convivio*, and the *Monarchia*; and it gives us improved critical texts for all of the other works.

It is now some thirty years since the Società Dantesca undertook the preparation of a definitive edition of the complete works of Dante. Each of the several works was intrusted to the care of some one scholar, the intention being that each work should appear in a separate volume, containing the critical text and full critical apparatus. Two of these volumes have appeared: Rajna's edition of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1896, and Barbi's edition of the *Vita Nuova* in 1907. Both of these editions are masterpieces of the highest order of textual scholarship.

Meanwhile Vandelli has been at work on the *Commedia*, Barbi on the *Rime*, Parodi and Pellegrini on the *Convivio*, and Pistelli on the *Epistole*, *Ecloghe*, and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. No one of these several editions is as yet completely ready for press, but the text itself is in every case established with approximate finality.

The Society therefore decided to publish the complete series of critical texts in a single volume containing the texts alone, the critical apparatus (which in any case could not have been compressed into a single book), being reserved for the individual volumes to be published later. The general editorship of the co-operative volume was intrusted to Barbi.

The individual volumes will, of course, show the results of still further thought; but the text as we have it here is substantially the text of Dante as it will permanently remain. And this volume at once takes a position of unique authority as the standard text of Dante.

Barbi's Preface bears witness to the inexhaustible patience and the sound judgment which the editors have displayed in their several tasks—tasks of extraordinary difficulty in the cases of the *Commedia*, the *Rime*,

and the *Convivio*. The hope of establishing a genealogy of the hundreds of MSS of the *Commedia* has been abandoned—the process of revision and correction by reference to other MSS and by conjecture, begun before the time of the earliest MSS now extant, and continued throughout the fourteenth century, is so extensive that family lines cannot be traced to any serviceable degree. But Vandelli's brilliant and relentless study of the mass of individual and yet related problems has yielded results deserving of thorough confidence.

For the general look of the text the preceding critical editions of the *Vita Nuova* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* had prepared us. The Italian texts have, of course, a more antiquated color than in the current editions; but the shock that comes with the alteration of familiar lines is far more than compensated by the satisfaction of knowing that we have before us, in all probability, what Dante wrote. The most constant variations concern diphthongization, the doubling of consonants, the choice of vowels in initial unstressed syllables, and pronominal forms. Thus the tonic preterite forms of *porre* and its compounds are written *puosi*, etc.; *eterno* is always spelled with a double *t*; *canoscere* replaces *conoscere*; and *el* appears frequently as a third person subject. In the Latin works the medieval orthography is consistently restored.

In the case of the *Rime*, the new volume offers us not only the first critical text but the first critical definition of the *corpus* of Dante's lyrics. The labyrinthine intricacy of the process of this definition and the magnificent competence with which Barbi has mastered the problem have already been amply evidenced in his *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante*. The *Rime* here definitely assigned to Dante (in addition to the thirty-one incorporated in the *Vita Nuova* and the three incorporated in the *Convivio*) are fifty-four in number: eleven *canzoni*, two *sestine*, two *stanze*, five *ballate*, and thirty-four sonnets. How complete a revision of the traditional *corpus* this is may be seen from the fact that of the fifty-five lyrics in the corresponding section of the Oxford *Dante* twenty-one are not included in Barbi's collection of the authentic lyrics, while that collection includes twenty poems which were not included in the Oxford *Dante*.

The definition of this body of verse and the determination of the text are great achievements. The question of the arrangement of the several poems is of much less importance, to be sure; yet it has a very real importance, since it is intended that the order and numeration here established shall be accepted for all scholarly purposes hereafter.

Barbi divides the eighty-eight lyrics (including those of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*, which in this part of the volume are represented by the quotation of the first lines only) into seven Books as follows:

- I. *Rime della Vita Nuova*
- II. *Altre rime del tempo della Vita Nuova*
- III. *Tenzzone con Forese Donati*

- IV. Rime allegoriche e dottrinali
- V. Altre rime d'amore e di corrispondenza
- VI. Rime per la donna pietra
- VII. Rime varie del tempo dell'esilio

The lyrics of the first Book are arranged, naturally, in the order in which they stand in the *Vita Nuova*, and those of Book III follow the order of the *tenzone*; but within the other books the basis of arrangement is not obvious. Poems of different forms are intermingled, and the order is not alphabetical.

This arrangement seems to me unnecessarily and undesirably complicated; and by its assigning of certain poems to certain groups it involves an assertion as to their biographical or allegorical purport which will not meet with general agreement, and cannot possibly be regarded as final in the same sense that the constitution of the *corpus* and the determination of the text are final.

Fifty-four lyrics (and thirty-four single lines) do not constitute a large body of verse: how much simpler and more convenient it would be to have them in a single group, and to have that group arranged either in alphabetical order, or by forms (as in the Oxford *Dante*), the poems of a single form being arranged in alphabetical order! As it is, the search for a given poem will in many cases involve either a haphazard fingering of a number of pages or reference to the alphabetical index to the *Canzoniere*—and this index is hidden among several other indexes (all admirable) in the back of the book.

The general principle of Barbi's classification is chronological: Books I and II represent the period of the *Vita Nuova*; Books III-V the later years of Dante's residence in Florence; and Book VII the years of his exile. Book VI is placed between Books V and VII because there is no agreement as to whether the *Pietra* poems were written before or during the exile.

But disagreement as to the time of composition is by no means limited to this case: it extends to many of the poems in Books II, IV, V, and VII. It is indeed hazardous in the extreme to imply that no one of the poems in Book II is later than the *Vita Nuova*; that no one of the poems in Book V is as early as the *Vita Nuova*; that no one of the poems in Books IV and V is as late as the exile; and that no one of the poems in Book VII precedes the exile.

The chronological differentiation results in the intimate grouping of poems which are in themselves very heterogeneous in content. An attempt to distinguish special groups according to content, within a given period, is evidenced by the isolation of the groups which constitute Books III, IV, and VI; but this principle is not consistently carried through, and there is nothing absolute in the grouping thus established—except in the case of Book III. Many scholars believe, for instance, that the first two *canzoni* of the *Convivio* are in origin purely love poems, into which Dante later read an allegorical meaning. The classification of these poems as allegorical is

then open to grave question. If Dante had finished the *Convivio*, would he not in all probability have given an allegorical interpretation to some of the *canzoni* now grouped in Books II, V, VI, and VII?

In view of these and similar uncertainties, I greatly hope that the question of the arrangement of the *Rime* may be reconsidered, and that a simple and objective order may be adopted for them in the definitive single-volume edition of the *Rime* and in reprints of the co-operative volume of texts. It is by no means too late to make such a change. It might occasion a little immediate confusion; but it would save an immense amount of inconvenience in generations to come.

Barbi's work is completed by the inclusion of the contemporary lyrics which are addressed to, or intimately concerned with, Dante; by the gathering in an appendix of certain *rime di dubbia attribuzione*; by a brief and able discussion of the authorship of these and other poems sometimes attributed to Dante; and by mention of the lost lyrics of Dante. I should like to see the line

"Traggemi de la mente Amor la stiva"—

the initial line of a *canzone* of which the rest is lost—given the honor of a place and a number of its own among the lyrics.

Pistelli rightly includes among the *Epistole* the three letters written by Dante for the Countess of Battifolle, and in a brief but excellent note discusses the lost letters. We know the opening words of two of these letters: one began with the words *Quomodo sedet sola civitas*; the other began with the words *Popule mee quid feci tibi*. We have also Leonardo Bruni's Italian version of a paragraph from a lost letter of Dante which is, in all probability, the second of the two letters just referred to. I should like to see these two initial phrases entered and numbered among the other letters. If these phrases and the initial line of the lost *canzone* should be treated as I have suggested, we should have a complete and consistent textual recognition of all the authentic surviving words of Dante. The quotation from Bruni, which is a scholar's version of words by Dante not now extant, might well be printed under the heading *Popule mee quid feci tibi*.

The *Fiore* and the *Detto d'amore*, now thought by many to be by Dante, are not included, but are published in a companion volume—a wise decision. The *Salmi penitenziali* and the *Professione di fede*, which remain in the Oxford *Dante*, are rightly ignored.

The volume is admirably printed and well made in all respects. Its value is increased by the three illustrations: a singularly beautiful photograph of the Arundel *Dante*, a clear print of the Michelino panel, and a reproduction of the last lines of the comedy as they appear in Cod. Laur. XC, 125.

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La versificación irregular. Por PEDRO HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA. Madrid: Centro de estudios históricos, 1920. Pp. viii+338.

The theory of *versificación irregular* is the most important matter which now concerns Hispanic philology. Until scholars agree on this point they will be at a loss as to the proper method of editing most poetic texts of the Middle Ages. If the principle of irregularity be admitted, then numerous texts edited according to the principle of syllable counting must be scrapped and the work done over again. Nearly the whole school of Spanish philologists and the younger Hispanists in other lands accept the new theory. The objectors are mainly those who have edited according to the old theory and may therefore be said to hold a vested interest in it.

We know that Caesar's soldiers chanted rhythmic verse at the very time that rhetors were teaching the quantitative system and cultured poets were practicing it. Similarly Henríquez Ureña finds that through the ages there have existed side by side in Spain three distinct metrical systems: (1) The learned and sophisticated system of syllable counting. (2) A popular rhythmic system, not dissimilar to that in vogue in Germanic languages. (The *verso de arte mayor* is a learned adaptation of this.) (3) A metric meter, devoid alike of syllable counting and regularly recurring stress.

One who has digested the evidence presented in Henríquez Ureña's previously published *Antología de la versificación irregular* and the additional matter in the present volume can scarcely doubt that all three of these systems existed. Irregular meter is to be found sporadically in the works of the great writers of the Renaissance and is apt to crop out in the latest zarzuela. Why not then also in the less cultured Middle Ages? It is here that the debate begins. In spite of the numerous examples cited from this period also, there are those who would explain away everything on the theory of scribal garbling. When the question was debated á propos of the meter of the *Cid*, these scholars demanded another example of like irregularity. It was forthcoming when Menéndez Pidal published his *Roncesvalles* fragment; but not every doubting Thomas was satisfied. So the matter stands.

Henríquez Ureña appears to be least sound when he goes to the other extreme and denies that scribal garbling played an important rôle in such works as *El libro de Apolonio* and the *Poema de Fernán González*. At least he explains most departures from the norm by stating that the authors were unsuccessful in freeing themselves wholly from the popular measures to which they were accustomed. But these writers were using a syllable-counting measure. It was simple and easy to write. While the lines showing an incorrect count are numerous, they are not so numerous that garbling may not account for the imperfect state of the MSS. Most lines may be restored by simple emendations. There is here no such astonishing irregularity as in the *Cid*.

Henríquez Ureña contributes little to the discussion of the epic meters. This had already been thoroughly debated. But, by making it plain that irregular meter is far more prevalent than had been supposed, he renders the theories of Milá and Menéndez Pidal more plausible.

In connection with the theory of irregular versification, it might repay some scholar to make a metrical study of certain of the Franco-Veneto bilingual epics and of such metric anomalies as the Italian Romance, *Buovo d'Antona*. The French *jongleur* touring northern Italy cared for little else than to impart his story to a foreign audience. He clipped and mangled Italian words to attain an acute assonance contrary to the genius of the Italian speech. Form went by the board. Apparently the meter also suffered. Now there may have existed also a Franco-Hispanic bilingual epic in the region of the Pyrenees. There is no proof of its existence, but nothing would be more likely. And would not such an epic have furthered metrical irregularity in Spain?

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Un aspecto en la elaboración de "El Quijote." Discurso leído en el Ateneo de Madrid. Por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Madrid: 1920. Pp. 54.

In this important contribution Menéndez Pidal proposes a thesis, which, if accepted, will alter radically our ideas about the genesis of *Don Quijote*. The intimate connection between the chapters of the novel describing the "first sally" and the *Entremés de los romances* has long been recognized. Adolfo de Castro held the latter to be one of the lost works of Cervantes. The Cotarelos, father and son, maintain that it was written subsequent to *Don Quijote*, of which it is alleged to be a parody. Menéndez Pidal thinks that, though Cervantes did not write it, the farce in question was written prior to the novel, was Cervantes' chief source of inspiration for the opening chapters, that story and characters improve and the use made of ballads changes completely when the author of *Don Quijote* gets beyond his source and is left to his own devices. This startling theory is argued with plausibility, but not completely proved.

Menéndez Pidal finds that all the thirty-one ballads cited in the farce appear in the *Flor de varios y nuevos romances*, Valencia, 1591, and that no other collection contains all the thirty-one. The deluded peasant-hero starts out to fight the English. Now expeditions against the English were fitted out in 1588, 1596, 1597, 1601, and 1602. The first date is too early. He concludes that the farce was written between 1596 and 1602, but inclines to the date 1597. De Castro had previously shown that the farce alludes to Elizabeth and Drake as living. The latter died in 1595, and the news of

his death must have reached Spain within a year or two. But all this dates the time of the action rather than that of the writing of the play. Menéndez Pidal is right in saying that farces usually referred to events of the moment. But the English were the Spaniards' dearest enemies for many years. The memory of the Invincible Armada rankled. Talk of hostilities may have continued even after the accession of James I in 1603 improved the diplomatic outlook. James soon showed a tendency to persecute his catholic subjects. It is always possible for a writer to place his time of action in the past, and that being so, it cannot be said that Menéndez Pidal has proved his case beyond dispute. The whole matter is bound up with the question as to when Cervantes began the writing of the first chapters and how much of his work was known to others before it was printed. Into these complicated details he does not go.

There remains the hypothesis that Cervantes himself wrote the *Entremés de los romances*. One is tempted to reject without more ado the theories of a scholar so discredited as Adolfo de Castro. But in this case his views are worthy of consideration. It is well known that when Cervantes had a good idea he often used it two or three times in various works. He was a writer of farces, and if we find in a farce ideas which he has used elsewhere, there is a possibility if not a presumption that he wrote the farce in question. Style shows little. Cervantes employed several styles and often produced work below his average. As the *Entremés de los romances* is little more than a stringing together of ballad snatches, there is slight opportunity for individual style to manifest itself. If *El viejo celoso* had come down to us without name of author, few would be willing to attribute it to the writer of *El celoso extremeño*. As a rule Cervantes was original in his plots. Few sources for his works have been indicated, and it has never been shown that he plagiarized contemporary Spanish novelists and dramatists. The evident groping and uncertainty of the early part of *Don Quijote* does not end with the conclusion of the first sally, but continues far into the book. It is true that after the first return home the Don does not again identify himself with ballad characters, but having used the device once, Cervantes would bore his readers by again employing it. It is easier to accept the view that Cervantes wrote the *entremés* than to believe that he followed so slavishly the invention of another.

But this somewhat questional thesis of Menéndez Pidal is perhaps of less value than the brilliant criticism which accompanies it. We are told much of Cervantes' attitude toward the ballad, what elements in his great work can be traced back to epic inspiration, what others are due to the romances. *Don Quijote* is treated not as the burlesque of a romance of chivalry, but as a romance of chivalry itself, the last and most perfect of a series. These matters and many others are treated with lucidity and charm. Once again Menéndez Pidal has shown the wonderful symmetry of his intellectual development. He is at the same time scientific and aesthetic, the philologist and the man of letters.

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“*Des Minnesangs Frühling*” mit Bezeichnung der Abweichungen von Lachmann und Haupt und unter Beifügung ihrer Anmerkungen neu bearbeitet. Von FRIEDRICH VOGT. Dritte Ausgabe. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920. Pp. xvi+468.

Das rasche Aufeinanderfolgen der neuen Ausgaben von Vogts Bearbeitung des altbewährten Werkes ist ein erfreuliches Zeugnis für die immer zunehmende Zahl der Freunde, welche es in dem neuen Gewande sich erworben hat. Einer der eigentlichen Meilensteine in der Geschichte der altdeutschen Studien, hat des *Minnesangs Frühling* in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt schon zwei Generationen als ein Quelle fast unerschöpflichen Wissens und der vielseitigen Anregung gedient. Dem kritischen Scharfblick Lachmanns war wenig entgangen, und in den Anmerkungen finden sich manche von Haupts feinsten Beobachtungen zerstreut. Aber mit der Zeit hatten sich die Ansichten über mehrere der Hauptfragen geändert und an dem alten Stamm war eine fast unübersehbare Literatur über alle mögliche, den *Minnesang* betreffende Fragen, heraufgewachsen. Wenn das handschriftliche Material auch keine wesentliche Bereicherung erfahren hat, so haben doch unsere Ansichten von der Lebenszeit und den Lebensverhältnissen der alten Dichter sich ziemlich anders gestaltet. Hinzu tritt auch die in letzter Zeit lebhaft erörterte Frage speziell nach der Quelle der altdeutschen Lyrik, daneben durchaus nicht in zweiter Linie die Forschungen über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Minnesangs überhaupt. Aber was die von Lachmann-Haupt kritisch hergestellten Texte betrifft, so war man genötigt, bei neuer metrischen Auffassung, den bisher akzeptierten Text mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen. Oder es handelte sich andererseits um eines Dichters Sprach- oder Reimgebrauch, oder um die Verständlichkeit und eigentliche Bedeutung einer bestimmten Stelle oder Redensart. Selten haben die Gelehrten sich über solche Streitfragen einigen können, und es schien somit eine gänzliche Umarbeitung des Werkes, welche die verschiedenen Theorien und Meinungen verzeichnete, eine unumgängliche Notwendigkeit geworden. Dass Vogt die schwierige Aufgabe befriedigend gelöst habe, indem er die Bemerkungen der alten Herausgeber aufgenommen und leicht kenntlich gemacht hat, wird wohl von keiner Seite bestritten.

Aus den Besprechungen der beiden früheren Auflagen, namentlich der der ersten durch Rosenhagen in der *Germanisch-Romanischen Monatsschrift*, 1912, setze ich die allgemeine Anlage des Werkes als bekannt voraus und gehe deshalb nicht näher darauf ein.

Die seit dem Erscheinen der zweiten Ausgabe hinzugekommene Literatur hat Vogt selbstverständlich gewissenhaft verzeichnet, wenn er auch an mehreren Stellen sich genötigt sah, seine abweichende Meinung deutlicher darzulegen und weiter auszuführen, was gewöhnlich dahin ausläuft, die ursprüngliche Textgestalt zu wahren unter möglichster Schonung der Überlieferung. Denn er wird von dem gewiss richtigen Grundsatz geleitet, den

alten Texten keine Gewalt anzutun, und er verhält sich meistens ablehnend gegen eine in neuester Zeit auftretende überaus kühne Konjekturekritik, wie sie namentlich von von Kraus an den unter Reinmars Namen überlieferten Strophen geübt worden ist. Hätte Vogt ferner desselben Gelehrten Textänderungen in den Strophen Heinrichs von Morungen alle aufnehmen wollen, so würden die Dichtungen dieses Autors ein wesentlich anderes, kaum erkennbares Bild gezeigt haben.

Die eigentlich schwierigen Stellen bleiben noch immer schwierig, und obgleich manches hie und da leicht zu bessern wäre, so fragt sich doch, inwieweit Textemendationen berechtigt sind, oder bei verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Heilung, welche den Vorzug verdient. Ich erinnere beispielsweise an 127, 35 oder an 4, 2. Bei dem Stand der Überlieferung wird wohl aber manches immer fraglich bleiben.

Der von verschiedener Seite befürworteten Aufnahme Ottos von Botenlauben und anderer jüngeren Zeitgenossen Walthers ist Vogt gewiss mit aller Berechtigung nicht nachgegangen, denn es wäre nicht leicht gewesen hier eine Grenzlinie zu ziehen. Inzwischen ist auch eine verdienstliche Ausgabe des Hiltbolt von Schwangau unter Vogts Leitung 1913 als 44. Heft der *Germanistischen Abhandlungen* erschienen, und es steht zu hoffen, dass wir andere Einzelausgaben der wichtigsten Dichter dieses Zeitraumes bald begrüßen dürfen.

Seit dem Erscheinen dieser neuen Ausgabe ist einiges wichtige hinzugekommen. Ich erwähne vor allem die bedeutenden Ausführungen Singers im 44. Band der *Beiträge*, die das Ziel verfolgen die mittelhochdeutsche Lyrik in weitestem Umfang aus dem Romanischen abzuleiten. Dagegen wendet sich Vogt in einem Aufsatz "Zum Kürenberger" im 45. Band derselben Zeitschrift. Nicht übersehen darf man ferner Jelineks ebendasselbst veröffentlichte "Bemerkungen zu Hartmanns Lyrik," welche gegen Neumann Stellung nehmen, sowie Vogts Artikel "Strophenbildung bei Reinmar," *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum*, 58, und dessen lange Besprechung von von Kraus' Akademie-Abhandlungen über denselben Dichter, *Anz. f. d. Altertum*, 1921.

Auf einzelne Fragen der Textkritik, die sich hie und da aufdrängen, lasse ich mich jetzt nicht ein, behalte mir aber vor bei einer anderen Gelegenheit wieder darauf zurückzukommen. Nur möchte ich noch erwähnen, dass der Name *roche bise* (76, 25), für welchen Singer einige Belege nachgewiesen hat, auch in dem *Prosatristan* einmal vorkommt, Löseth, S. 266, Anm. 2.

Das einzige, was ich zu rügen hätte, ist, dass das Werk immer noch eines Registers entbehrt, wodurch die bequeme Benutzung sehr erleichtert wäre. Hoffentlich wird auch dieser Mangel bei einer künftigen Auflage gehoben werden können.

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“Wolframs Stil und der Stoff des Parzival.” Von S. SINGER.

Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,
180. Band, 4. Abh. Wien: Hölder, 1916. Pp. 127.

Vorliegende Abhandlung des sehr verdienten Germanisten verfolgt den Zweck, die Möglichkeit einer von seinem Lehrer Heinzel angenommenen gemeinsamen Quelle Crestien-Kyot durch Heranziehung einer Menge neuer Beweismittel zu unterstützen. Während Heinzel bei seinem Rekonstruktionsversuche etwas zu weit gegangen ist, scheint es Singer “möglich zu sein, durch ganz konsequente Durchführung seiner Methode den für jeden Einsichtigen unwiderleglichen Beweis zu erbringen, dass Wolfram nicht Crestiens erhaltenes Gedicht von Perceval (*Conte del graal*), sondern ein anderes verlorenes als Vorlage gedient habe, an das er sich viel enger angeschlossen hat, als irgend jemand bisher anzunehmen wagte.”

Die Arbeit zerfällt in zwei Teile. In dem ersten kürzeren Abschnitt bringt der Verfasser, ausgerüstet mit einer erstaunenswerten Belesenheit, eine Fülle von Belegstellen aus der altfranzösischen und provenzalischen Literatur zusammen, die zeigen sollen, dass vieles, welches bisher als Wolframs besondere Stileigentümlichkeiten gegolten hat, nur aus romanischem Einfluss zu erklären ist. Um nur einen Hauptpunkt zu erwähnen, so ist die ganze Anlage der Eingangsverse des *Parzival* schon nach romanischem Muster und hat sich ohne Zweifel so in der Quelle vorgefunden. Die Wolfram bereits von den Zeitgenossen vorgeworfene Dunkelheit findet sich bei einigen der ältesten Troubadours völlig ausgeprägt, und bei Marcabru treffen wir schon das bei Wolfram vorkommende Gleichnis von der Elster, hier allerdings auf die Liebhaber angewandt. Zu einer Anzahl der Bilder und Vergleiche, die sonst nicht oder nur vereinzelt in der deutschen Literatur der Zeit zu belegen sind, hat Singer viele Parallelen aus dem Romanischen angeführt. Und wenn auch zugegeben wird, dass einiges aus der geistlichen Literatur oder dem gemeinsamen Formelschatz des Mittelalters zu erklären sein wird, so bleibt doch ein grosser Teil übrig, der in dem ganzen Zusammenhang betrachtet, von unzweifelhafter Bedeutung ist. Wenn Wolfram 409, 26 eine schlanke Dame mit einem Hasen am Bratspiess vergleicht, so mutet uns das doch etwas geschmacklos an, aber demselben Bild begegnen wir bei Bertran de Born (Stimming 28): *sembla conil de l'espina*, “sie scheint ein Kaninchen ihrem Rückgrat nach.”

Im zweiten Teil, S. 47 ff., werden die sechzehn Bücher des *Parzival* der Reihe nach behandelt. Es werden verschiedene Motive und Episoden, welche bei Crestien nicht vorkommen, eingehend besprochen, wodurch überzeugend gezeigt wird, dass die Abweichungen nicht als Missverständnisse von dessen Dichtung zu erklären sind, sondern nur durch Annahme eines zweiten mit ihm nicht identischen Textes begreiflich werden.

Die Verteidiger der Foerster'schen Ansichten werden es nicht leicht haben, die Behauptungen Singers zu widerlegen. Unserer Ansicht nach hat er die Wolfram-Forschung in ganz neue Bahnen gelenkt und niemand, der das mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht zum Gegenstand eindringenden Studiums gemacht hat und der ganz einwandfrei an die Lektüre dieses Aufsatzes herantritt, wird an der Haltbarkeit von dessen Aufstellungen zweifeln.

Seite 37 sollte der Hinweis auf Wackernagel zum armen Heinrich 478 statt 12 heissen.

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